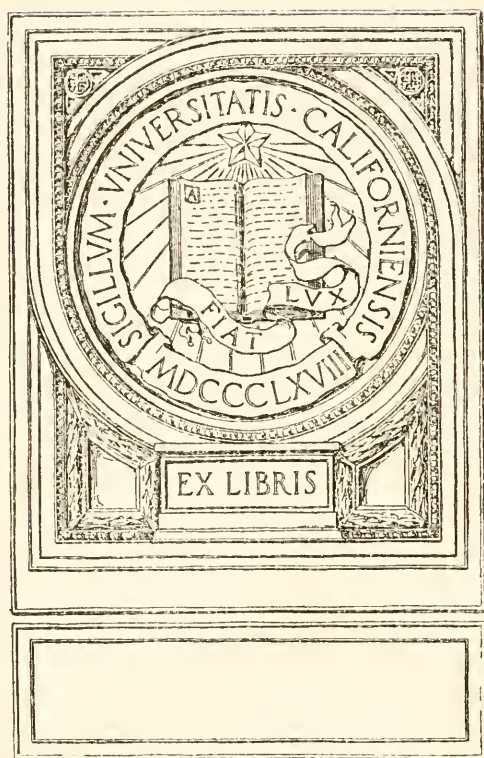


UC-NRLF



B 3 496 250



COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

WINSLOW WARREN.

CHARLES K. BOLTON.

70 VIII
ANNO 180



Gen. William Heath.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEVENTH SERIES.—VOL. IV.

Published at the Charge of the Appleton Fund.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCXCIV.

713
p. 7
4

University Press:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

70 1880
2000000000

C O N T E N T S.

	PAGE
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY ELECTED APRIL 14, 1904 . . .	vii
RESIDENT MEMBERS	viii
HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS	x
MEMBERS DECEASED	xii
PREFACE	xiii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xxi
THE HEATH PAPERS	1
INDEX	343

438777

OFFICERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 14, 1904.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

JAMES F. RHODES, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, LL.B. BOSTON.

Members at Large of the Council.

WILLIAM R. THAYER, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE, LL.B. WESTON.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, A.M. BOSTON.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D. ROXBURY.

THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Additional Member of the Council.

ARTHUR T. LYMAN, A.M. BOSTON.

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1860. Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D. Charles Eliot Norton, D.C.L. 1861. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D. 1865. Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M. 1866. Henry Gardner Denny, A.M. 1867. Charles Card Smith, A.M. 1871. Abner Cheney Goodell, A.M. Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq. 1873. Winslow Warren, LL.B. Charles William Eliot, LL.D. 1875. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D. William Phineas Upham, A.B. 1876. Hon. William Everett, LL.D. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D. 1877. John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B. 1878. Gamaliel Bradford, A.B. Rev. Edward James Young, D.D. 1879. Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M. Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M.	1880. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M. Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M. Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D. 1882. Arthur Lord, A.B. Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M. James McKellar Bugbee, Esq. 1883. Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D. 1884. Hon. John Elliot Sanford, LL.D. Edward Channing, Ph.D. 1886. William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, D.D. 1887. Solomon Lincoln, A.M. Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M. 1889. Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D. Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B. 1890. Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B. 1891. Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D. Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D. Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.
--	--

1892.

George Spring Merriam, A.M.

1893.

Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B.

Barrett Wendell, A.B.

James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.

William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.

Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge,
LL.D.

Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D.

1896.

Hon. Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.

Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.

Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.

Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

1897.

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D.

Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D.

Col. William Roscoe Livermore.

Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.

Lucien Carr, A.M.

James Schouler, LL.D.

1898.

Hon. John Summerfield Brayton,
LL.D.

Rev. George Angier Gordon, D.D.

John Chipman Gray, LL.D.

Rev. James De Normandie, D.D.

Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.

1899.

Archibald Cary Coolidge, Ph.D.

John Noble, LL.D.

Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.

Rev. Edward Henry Hall, D.D.

1900.

James Frothingham Hunnewell,
A.M.Hon. Daniel Henry Chamberlain,
LL.D.

Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.

1901.

Thomas Leonard Livermore, A.M.

Nathaniel Paine, A.M.

Charles Gross, Ph.D.

John Osborne Sumner, A.B.

Arthur Theodore Lyman, A.M.

Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, A.M.

1902.

Edward Henry Strobel, A.B.

Henry Lee Higginson, LL.D.

Brooks Adams, A.B.

Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.

Edward Hooker Gilbert, A.B.

John Carver Palfrey, A.M.

1903.

Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, A.B.

Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B.

Samuel Savage Shaw, LL.B.

Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D.

Waldo Lincoln, A.B.

Frederic Jesup Stimson, LL.B.

Edward Stanwood, Litt.D.

Moorfield Storey, A.M.

1904.

Thomas Minns, Esq.

Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.

Charles Henry Dalton, Esq.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1871. David Masson, LL.D. 1887. Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D. 1896. Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L. 1899. Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.	1901. Pasquale Villari. 1902. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. 1904. Adolf Harnack. Rt. Hon. John Morley, LL.D.
--	--

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1864. Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 1875. Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D. Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M. 1877. Gustave Vapereau. 1878. John Austin Stevens, A.B. Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D. Charles Henry Hart, LL.B. 1879. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. John Marshall Brown, A.M. Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.	1880. Sir James McPherson Le Moine. Henry Adams, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D. 1883. Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, LL.D. 1886. Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay, LL.D. 1887. John Andrew Doyle, M.A.
--	---

1891.
Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
Litt. D.
Alexander Brown, D.C.L.

1894.
Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.

1896.
Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D.
William Babcock Weeden, A.M.
Richard Garnett, LL.D.

1897.
Rev. George Park Fisher, D.D.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.
Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, D.C.L.

1898.
Frederic William Maitland, LL.D.
John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.

1899.
Rev. William Cunningham, LL.D.

1900.
Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.
John Bassett Moore, LL.D.
Hon. John Hay, LL.D.

1901.
Daniel Coit Gilman, LL.D.
Frederic Harrison, M.A.
Frederic Bancroft, LL.D.
Charles Harding Firth, LL.D.
William James Ashley, M.A.

1902.
Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph.D.
John Bach McMaster, Litt.D.
Albert Venn Dicey, LL.D.
Reuben Gold Thwaites, Esq.
John Christopher Schwab, Ph.D.
Worthington Chauncey Ford, Esq.

1903.
Rev. Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.
Auguste Moireau.
Hon. Horace Davis, LL.D.

1904.
Sidney Lee, LL.D.
Frederick Jackson Turner, Ph.D.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died, or of whose death information has been received, since the last volume of Collections was issued, December 15, 1902, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Honorary.

Theodor Mommsen	Nov. 1, 1903.
Rt. Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, LL.D.	Oct. 22, 1903.

Resident.

William Sumner Appleton, A.M.	April 28, 1903.
James Elliot Cabot, LL.D.	Jan. 16, 1903.
John Tyler Hassam, A.M.	April 22, 1903.
Hon. John Davis Washburn, LL.B.	April 4, 1903.
Rev. Egbert Coffin Smyth, LL.D.	April 12, 1904.
Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, LL.D.	Sept. 30, 1904.
Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse, A.M.	Nov. 14, 1903.
Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.	Sept. 22, 1904.
Hon. George Harris Monroe	Oct. 15, 1903.
Rev. Elijah Winchester Donald, D.D.	Aug. 6, 1904.

Corresponding.

John Foster Kirk, LL.D.	Sept. 21, 1904.
Hermann von Holst, Ph.D.	Jan. 20, 1904.
Hon. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, LL.D.	Feb. 12, 1903.
Sir Leslie Stephen, K.C.B., LL.D.	Feb. 22, 1904.
Edward McCrady, LL.D.	Nov. 1, 1903.

P R E F A C E.

AMONG the miscellaneous manuscripts in the library of this Society is one of about forty foolscap pages, which gives an interesting description of the character and contents of the Heath Papers. On the cover, in the handwriting of Rev. J. B. Felt, Librarian from 1842 to 1855, is the following inscription: "This belongs to Mass^{ts} Historical Society. Handed to me this day, Oct. 9, 1845, by Rev. Alexander Young. J. B. Felt, Librarian. Presented [*blank*] years ago to the Soc^y." Below, in the handwriting of Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, for nearly twenty-five years a valued member of the Society, is the following memorandum: "May 8th, 1879. Having received this manuscript from Mr. Deane of the Hist. Soc. for examination, I recognize it as my writing, except the letters copied by my clerk, the late Mr. Blaney of Roxbury. I have forgotten at whose request it was written, but think it must have been at the late Geo. Livermore's. Amos A. Lawrence." It is not known exactly when the manuscript was written, but it was probably not long after the Heath Papers came into Mr. Lawrence's possession, which was as early as 1838, and as Mr. Livermore was not elected a member until November, 1849, Mr. Lawrence was probably mistaken in regard to the person at whose request he drew up his account of these interesting and important papers. In May, 1859, Mr. Lawrence presented the entire collection

of Heath Papers, numbering forty-five volumes, to the Historical Society, through Mr. Livermore; and it was probably this circumstance which led Mr. Lawrence, twenty years later, to think that his early description was written at Mr. Livermore's request. At the meeting at which the collection was presented to the Society, remarks descriptive of its value were made by Mr. Livermore, Mr. Sparks, and Mr. Frothingham, and a few selections were printed in the Proceedings. In 1878 the numerous letters from Washington to Heath were printed as part of a volume of Revolutionary papers.* A few months earlier, when Mr. Deane wrote his exhaustive paper for the Antiquarian Society on the Convention of Saratoga and the treatment of Burgoyne's army, he was authorized to make such extracts from this correspondence as might be useful for his purpose; and his most important materials were derived from this source.† General Heath had previously printed some of the more important letters in his "Memoirs," which was published in 1798. With these exceptions very little public use has been made of this immense mass of Revolutionary documents. Until very recently the limited financial resources of the Society—*res angusta domi*—have not permitted the publication of any large selection from these papers.

In his manuscript Mr. Lawrence writes: "At the close of our Revolutionary War most of the officers of the army returned to the professions which they had abandoned in taking up arms for their country. With some this was a matter of choice, but with most of them of mere necessity on account of the broken conditions of

* 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 1-285.

† Mr. Deane's paper is printed in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 22, 1877, pp. 12-77.

their fortunes. Among the number was Gen. Heath, who though not absolutely poor could not be called rich. He was the cultivator of an excellent farm which had descended to him from his ancestors through five generations.* The retirement which Gen. Heath here enjoyed enabled him to devote considerable time to reading, for which he had a taste, the perusal and arrangement of his papers, which he esteemed of great value, and to writing a book which he perhaps had as well not written. His 'Memoirs' were near blasting his reputation for that good judgment which in service had made him very much esteemed and respected. But this must not be a handle for censure; the letters which he addressed to persons in all stations during fourteen years of public service forming the bulk of his writings are the best evidence not only of his understanding, but also of his integrity and good heart, and are far from being inelegant compositions. What induced him to publish a private journal hastily written, not so much with reference to public events as to record the trifling occurrences of the camp, cannot be accounted for unless by supposing that he was persuaded by his friends to do what he would otherwise never have thought of, and this in fact he confesses.

"Very fortunately Gen. Heath prized these papers so much as to carefully lay them aside and at his leisure to file them, though without any particular method. He preserved many other papers which fell into his hands,

* This farm, after the death of his son William Heath three years since, was sold, and has been divided by roads and built on. It extends along the south side of what is called Parker's hill in Roxbury, and formerly included the land on the opposite side of Heath Street. The old mansion, with its shady buttonwood trees, is left, but is not occupied by the family. [From the records of the First Church in Roxbury it appears that the younger William Heath died March 8, 1836, which establishes approximately the date when Mr. Lawrence's memorandum was written.]

which are more voluminous. These comprise trials by court-martial, reports of the guards on duty, petitions, receipts, returns of the men, provisions and arms, and different kinds of certificates. The whole number may be twenty thousand. They were preserved in oaken trunks with care till Gen. Heath's death, when they fell into the hands of his son William. Owing to some peculiarities this gentleman was averse to bringing his valuable legacy to the light, and excepting to a few persons he refused admittance to them, and in no instance would he allow them to be taken from the garret of his paternal mansion. Even the biographer of Washington, though he applied for them himself, and was assisted with the kind offices of a neighboring gentleman, was unable to obtain possession of them while he was completing his great work.

“The death of this, the last of the name of William Heath was followed, as was mentioned before, by the sale of a great part of the farm, which was induced by the high price of land at that time, and the principal heirs having farms of their own. The papers were still preserved, though in considerable disorder, and at the sale of some of the furniture with a view of renting the old mansion, when some of them were accidentally exposed, they were carried back to their chests, with a good deal of feeling on the part of the owners. Some time after this they were induced to part with them after considerable negociation, since which they have been arranged in the order of time in volumes, with indices of the letters in each, and have been strongly bound; the whole forming twenty-six large folios. Besides which there are seventeen volumes of newspapers and pamphlets, each of which contains a memorandum of

some event which is noted in Gen. Heath's handwriting in the margin. They comprise more than three hundred letters from Gen. Washington, many of them written confidentially; many from John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Jay, Hamilton, Laurens, Morris, Trumbull, the Clintons, Livingstons, Thompson, McKean, and others of less note, members of civil bodies; from Lee, Gates, Greene, Putnam, Knox, St. Clair, Sullivan, Lincoln, Wayne, Stark, Mifflin, Stirling, Schuyler, Prescott, Paterson, McDougall. and other American officers, not excepting the traitor Arnold; from Lafayette, D'Estaing, Rochambeau, Steuben, Kosciusco, Armand, Villefranche, Viomenil, De Ternay, Gouvion, Chastellux, and other allies; from Burgoyne, Phillips, Hamilton, Campbell, Tarleton, Reidesel, Specht, Dalrymple, Pigot, and other officers in the British army.

“The letters are not of a general character, but almost wholly relate to the details of the camp, so that as historical papers they are not separately valuable, but taken together they exhibit the state of the country and the manner of carrying on the war in a more vivid light than can be obtained from any regular history. The interest in them is increased by seeing the original handwritings.”

To this very full and exact description little need be added. The arrangement of the papers under Mr. Lawrence's direction was in the main well carried out; but in a few instances letters were misplaced, and inserted in a different year from that to which they belonged; and there were a few other mistakes of lesser importance. Many of the letters bear marks of having been written in great haste, and by persons of very little education; but the chief difficulty in reading them arises from the bad

spelling, especially of proper names. In the case of letters written by General Heath, with but a few exceptions, we have only his rough draughts, which are mere scrawls with numerous omissions and interlineations; but his alterations were made with so much care and exactness that there can be little or no doubt that the letters actually sent were verbatim copies of the draughts as we find them, though the spelling is extremely careless, and was probably corrected in the fair copy.

Major-General William Heath was a descendant from William Heath, who came over from London in September, 1632, settled as a farmer in Roxbury, and was made a freeman in March, 1633. In 1634, and in several later years, he was a deputy to the General Court, and at his death in 1652 he was described by Rev. John Eliot, as "an able, godly, and faithful brother." His more distinguished descendant, Major-General Heath, was born on the ancestral farm March 2, 1737, and died there January 24, 1814. Though bred a farmer, and always fond of a farmer's life, he early showed a taste for military studies, and in 1765 joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. Early in 1770 he published in the "Boston Gazette" a series of articles signed "A Military Countryman," urging the importance of military discipline and skill in the use of arms; and he seems to have been a close student of the writings of Frederick the Great. In 1774 he was elected colonel of the first Suffolk regiment. In the meantime he was also prominent in civil affairs, serving as a member of the General Court, a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and a member of the Committees of Correspondence and Safety. In December, 1774, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the Massachusetts militia, and in the following

June was promoted to be a major-general. Two days later he was made a brigadier-general in the continental service; and in August, 1776, was raised to the rank of major-general. During the siege of Boston he had the command at Roxbury. After the evacuation he went to New York, and near the close of the year he was stationed in the Highlands. Early in 1777 he was transferred to the command of the Eastern Department, where he remained for about two years. In June, 1779, he rejoined the army, and was given the command of the posts on the Hudson. When Washington marched to Yorktown, Heath was intrusted with the entire command of the Department of New York. He continued in active service until the end of the war, when he returned to his farm. Subsequently he was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, a State senator, and a judge of probate, and was elected lieutenant-governor, but declined to accept the office. In 1812 he was one of the presidential electors.

In the present volume a selection is given from the papers written between October, 1775, and the end of the year 1779; another volume, which is now in the press, will bring the selection down to the close of the war.

The portrait which is prefixed to this volume is a reproduction of an engraving by J. R. Smith of a portrait by H. Williams, which first appeared in the "Polyanthos Enlarged," in 1813, a few months before the death of General Heath.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, October 20, 1904.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM HEATH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PLAN TO ILLUSTRATE REVERE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION	320

THE HEATH PAPERS.

PART II.

THE HEATH PAPERS.

JOHN ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

*To William Heath, Esq^r, Brigadier General in the American Army.
Cambridge. Per favour of Mr Lynch.*

PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 5th, 1775.

SIR, — I never had the pleasure of a correspondence or any particular acquaintance with you which can justify the freedom I have taken of giving you this trouble. But as the good of our country, which I know is your first consideration, is my motive, I presume you will think it a sufficient apology.

In the present state of America, which is so novel and unexpected, and indeed unthought of by numbers of persons in every Colony, it is natural to expect misapprehensions, jealousies, and misrepresentations in abundance; and it must be our care to attend to them, and if possible explain what is misunderstood and state truly what is misrepresented.

It is represented in this city by some persons, and it makes an unfriendly impression upon some minds, that in the Massachusetts Regiments, there are great numbers of boys, old men, and negroes, such as are unsuitable for the service, and therefore that the Continent is paying for a much greater number of men than are fit for active

or any service. I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to rectify these mistakes, as I take them to be, and I hope with some success, but still the impression is not quite removed.

I would beg the favour of you therefore, Sir, to inform me whether there is any truth at all in this report, or not. It is natural to suppose there are some young men and some old ones and some negroes in the service, but I should be glad to know if there are more of these in proportion in the Massachusetts Regiments, than in those of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, or even among the Riflemen.

You may depend, Sir, upon my using the most prudent caution, in the use of your letter, and especially of your name, but I could certainly make a good use of a letter from you upon the subject. Great fault is likewise found in several parts of the Continent of the Massachusetts officers, whom I believe, taken on an average, and in proportion to numbers, to be equal at least if not superior to any other Colony.

I must confess I had another view in giving you this trouble which was to introduce to your attention, D^r Franklin, M^r Lynch, and Coll. Harrison, a Committee from this Congress to consult with the General and with the New England Colonies concerning a plan for future armies. M^r Lynch is from S. Carolina, Coll. Harrison from Virginia, both gent^a of great fortune, and respectable characters, men of abilities and very staunch Americans. D^r Franklyn needs no words of mine. I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your very hum^l servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM PRESCOTT.*

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, Oct^r 8th, 1775.

SIR, — Complaint is just made to me, that great destruction is made of the timber and wood on Sewall's Farm to the great injury of the young lady whose property I am informed it is, as well as to the publick. As private property should ever be held most sacred, and inasmuch as his Excellency General Washington has repeatedly most strictly forbid all violations thereof, I do expect that you do speedily and effectually prevent any further destruction of the timber or wood trees on Sewall's Farm, (without special orders therefor), and you will immediately take the proper steps for its preservation.

I am yours, &c.

W. HEATH, *B.G.*

P: S: The complainant acquaints me that upon complaint to Quartermaster Gen^l Mifflin, he told the complainant, that if the proprietor would sell the wood he would buy it, but that otherwise it should not be touched.

W. H.

Co^{lo} PRESCOTT, Commanding Officer at Sewall's Point.

* Col. William Prescott was born in Groton Feb. 20, 1726, and died in Pepperell Oct. 13, 1795. In 1774 he was appointed to the command of a militia regiment, with which he marched to Cambridge on the alarm of the battle of Lexington, and joined the American army. In the following June he was sent to Charlestown, and had the immediate command of the intrenchments in the battle of Bunker Hill. He afterward served with distinction for a short time under Washington, but he was early obliged by broken health to retire from military life. Subsequently he was a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts for several years. — EDS.

SAMUEL ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

*S. A. To Brigadier General Heath at the Camp in Cambridge.
Favord by Cap. Hart & Cap. Folwell.*

PHILADELPHIA, Octob. 20, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,— Should I acknowledge to you that I can give no good reason why I have not written to you before this time, I am apt to believe you would be as much at a loss on your part to apologize to me for your omissions. Believe me, my Friend, my friendship for you, which has always been sincere, is not in the least abated; your letters to me will meet with the most grateful reception, I beg you therefore to improve every opportunity of writing.

I wish I could inform you of some things which I believe it would be for the common good that some individuals should know, but I am bound by the ties of honor to keep them secret, and such an obligation I am sure you will allow me to hold sacred.

The affairs of our country are at this moment in the most critical scituation. I wait with the utmost impatience to hear from Gen^l Schuyler and Coll. Arnold. I was going to say that all depends upon their success. If they do all that is in their power, it will be as much as their country can in reason expect from them. Mortals cannot command success. I wish, if it be practicable, that our army would make some bold push upon the Rebels, but I trust to the wisdom of our Generals. While I am writing (in the Lobby) I am informd that a ship is just arrivd from London. If I shall hear any important news before I shall be obligd to close this letter I will insert it.

The bearer of this letter, M^r Josiah Hart, and his companion, M^r John Folwell, are the sons of wealthy farmers in this Colony, and friends to our cause. They command

military companies in the county in which they live, and are going to visit the camp for improvement. They are not dressd like fops, but as they are recommended to me as young men of merit I dare say, you will show them due respect. The father of M^r Hart is reputed to be a singular friend to our Colony. I am now in haste, and can add no more than that I am

Your affectionate friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

SUPPOSED PLAN OF GENERAL HOWE.*

General How's extraordinary manœuvre, in puting his heavy ordnance, stores, &c, on board ship, together with his declaration of soon leaving the town of Boston with the troops under his command, has engaged my attention, and upon deliberation, I am of opinion, that this manœuvre discovers as great intention to risk a general action as it does to leave the town.

As the enemy are now in possession of many important posts, each of which must be defended by considerable detachments, or the whole endangered through any that may be neglected,—The detachments for these several posts so considerable as to reduce the army so much as to incapacitate it to strike any capital blow with sufficient numbers, or if such a blow should be attempted while the army remains in such a detached state, their able officers must be scattered throughout their extensive posts, and each filled with anxiety for the fate of the other, and what would be called the main body of the army, who must make the sally, perplexed and distracted when marching to battle, least from our scituation and superior numbers, we should avail our selves of such an opper-

* There is no indorsement on this paper to show for what purpose it was drawn up, but it was probably designed for presentation to a Council of War or to the Commander in Chief after the American forces had occupied Dorchester Heights. — Eds.

tunity to attack and carry some important post. And it being an old maxim in the art of war, that he who divides his force will be beaten in detachment, and that when you are resolved to give battle you should endeavour to assemble your whole strength, (for you cannot possibly employ your troops to greater advantage). And this rule is so well founded, that those generals who have deviated from it have almost alwaies had cause to repent their conduct. That military genius, that enterprising General, How, may now be meditateing a coup de main. The heavy ordnance, stores, baggage, &c, being secured, the detachments all called in, the army will become considerably formidable in its numbers, and being all on board the ships, they may in the night effect a landing at any place between Cambridge and Squantum with their whole force, their able officers will then act in concert, and animate and support each other. The bait being thrown out, that they are peaceably going to leave the town, will tend to lull our camp into security, and prepare the way for surprise.

If they should be successfull in the attempt, the ordnance and stores are easily relanded, or if they should be worsted in the attack a good retreat may be made, under the fire of their tenders and floating battries, and their loss no more than that of their killed on the field and some wounded who may not be carried off. In this way they have no works or baggage to risque, they act the part of brave and politick soldiers, and will leave the place with honor, in the eyes of all military men.

Therefore upon the whole, if ever there was a call for vigilance and alertness in duty, a preparedness instantly to take the field and act with the most determined resolution, it is now. Fortune may fail us, but a prudent conduct neaver will, and distrust is the mother of security.

W. HEATH.

CAMBRIDGE, March 9th, 1776.

JOHN ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1776.

DEAR SIR,— Altho I never had the pleasure and the honour of so intimate an acquaintance with you as I wished, yet I have a long time been sufficiently acquainted with your character to have the utmost confidence in your patriotism and your judgment of the true interest of our country.

The critical state of the Colonies at this time is the cause of my writing you, because Providence has now placed you in a situation where you have an opportunity of serving your country in a civil and political capacity no less essentially than in a military one.*

There is nothing of more indispensable importance in the conduct of this great contention, than that New York should go hand in hand with the rest of the Colonies, both in politicks and war. The number of the Tories, the weakness and credulity of some people, and the treachery of others, have hitherto prevented that Colony from exerting herself in this mighty struggle in proportion to her strength and weight.

If you compare the exertions of Connecticutt with those of New York you will easily see the importance of having all the powers of government in the hands of the friends of the people.

It is now perhaps the most critical moment that America ever saw. There is a tide in the affairs of men, and consequences of infinite moment depend upon the Colonies assuming government at this time.

So convenient an opportunity may never again present itself as the present, while a powerfull army is there

* General Heath arrived in the city of New York March 30, and was in command of the forces there until the arrival of General Putnam on April 3. — Eds.

sufficient to overawe any turbulent opposition and prevent every danger of convulsion.

To exercise a government under a King who has published such a proclamation and signed such an Act of Parliament; to pray for his salvation, temporal I mean, to take oaths of allegiance, to swear to keep his secrets, to swear to try issues between our Sovereign Lord the King and any criminal at this time is such an absurdity, such immorality, such irreligion that I am amazed it can be endured in any one spot in America.

Governments must be assumed or anarchy reign, and God knows the consequence.

I must beg of you, therefore, to endeavour to convince the citizens of New York and the inhabitants of the Province, as opportunity presents, of the necessity of this measure. Depend upon it you cannot do your country a more important, a more essential service.

I am well informed that Mr William Smith, Mr P. L. and I fear Coll. McDougal will retard and obstruct this measure. I hope they will be perswaded to the contrary, if they have not, they may have hereafter the pleasing reflection that they destroyed their country.

You must have seen the happy fruits of this measure in your own Province so clearly as to render it impertinent in me to point out the benefits of it.

If nine months ago the Colonies had assumed governments, they would have been infinitely better armed, trained, furnished with ammunition, salt petre, powder works, they would have been rid of the plague of Toryism, &c.

I have time only to hint, and that is enough to you. If you are at a loss to know me, ask General Sullivan.

I am your friend and most obedient servant.

[No signature.]

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN ADAMS.*

NEW YORK, July 20, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I must ask your pardon for having repeatedly received your favors since I have been in the army without returning you an acknowledgement of them. From the opinion which I have long had of your abilities and patriotism I have wished for an intimate acquaintance with you, and shall ever consider it a great honor to correspond with you.

In your last to me of the 15th of April you were urging the necessity of a speedy declaration of the independence of the Colonies. I do now most heartily congratulate you on the declaration of an event so momentous to the United States, and that it has been effected with so much unanimity.

Having declared the Colonies free and independant states, the great object now is to maintain and defend that freedom and independence, which cannot be done but by vigorous exertions in arms. The Prussian monarch tells us that the entire prosperity of every state rests upon the discipline of its army. It is requisite that yours be numerous, well officered, armed, disciplined, fed, clothed, and paid, each of which are objects of importance, and if either is neglected the state suffers the ill consequences of it. Ordnance and ordnance stores should be provided in plenty, light brass field-pieces and howtzers, I think, are much wanted. Particular attention should be paid to the men's clothing. The great and constant fatigue of the army in the different works is such as causes an uncommon wear of their clothing, which added to the exorbitant prices of goods, exhausts almost the whole of the soldier's wages. Some method must be devised for

* Printed from the original in the Adams Papers. Apparently General Heath did not keep a copy of this letter, — at least it is not among his papers in the possession of the Historical Society. — Eds.

the redress of this difficulty, and with respect to another army, in confidence I must tell you that unless a handsome bounty is given the men will not be enlisted. And why should we stick at a trifling expense when our all is at stake? Had the army at first been enlisted for the war, what an happy circumstance would it have been. A six weeks, two months, &c., militia has prevented our having a proper disciplined army.

I congratulate you on our late success in Carolina. I wish our northern affairs wore a more favorable aspect. General Sullivan, I am informed, is returning from that army. And here, my dear Sir, permit me to express myself a little freely on the subject of promotions (not in the least calling in question the right or wisdom of the Hon^{ble} Congress in regard to appointments). We are told that the officers of the army are not to expect promotion in succession, but that commissions are to be given to persons of merit (as it is called) regardless of any claim by succession, &c. The merit of the officers is doubtless to be recommended by some person or persons. But alas, how much are even the best of men prone to be biased in judgement through particular friendship or connections. We are apt to overrate the merits of our friends, and perhaps scarcely notice the greater abilities of others. I myself could mention instances where some have had encomiums bestowed upon them, whilst those who deserved them have scarcely been noticed. But even supposing that none should be promoted but such as distinguish themselves, yet such a rule may work wrong.

We will suppose that A., B., C., and D. are officers of the same rank in the army and of equal abilities. A. is the senior and so on, the service requires that A., B., and C. should command certain important posts in camp, D. is sent on command and distinguishes himself. Either of the others had they been sent would have equally done it, now shall D. be promoted to the prejudice of A., B., and C.?

Would it not be more just to reward D. by publick thanks, by makeing him commander of a place of importance, and promoteing him on the first vacancy without injury to any other; and in this way how could merit ever complain of being treated with neglect? In all service particular care is taken not to promote a junior officer over the head of his superior in command, as its consequences seldom fail of being banefull.

Such manœuvres, my dear Sir, are the most delicate of any that you will ever have occasion to make, and in all important manœuvres we should well consider whether they tend to the gain or loss of ground, and govern ourselves accordingly.

Among many men there are many minds, and every man has his own opinion, and I have mine of men and things. I may be mistaken, I may not. Every man has his friends and enemies. I have been now more than fourteen months in the service at the risk of my life and sacrifice of ease and domestick enjoyment with great chearfulness. I do not wish advancement; but I have so much sensibility as to feel when a junior officer is advanced over my head. My feelings are as keen as those of others, and nothing but the interest of my country, which I early stepped forward to defend (and which I still prefer to every consideration) has prevented my expressing of them. Please to give my best regards to the Hon^{ble} the President and the rest of your worthy colleagues, and believe me, my dear Sir, with the greatest sincerity, to be

Your hearty friend and humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

General Sullivan has arrived in town.

Hon. JOHN ADAMS, Esq^r.

JOHN ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

The Hon. General Heath, New York. Favoured by Coll. Tudor.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 3, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 20th ult. is before me. I am much obliged to you for it, and most heartily wish for a more free and intimate communication of sentiments, upon the state both of our councils and arms. I should be happy in a few hours' conversation, but as this cannot be, I must be content with a letter.

We have now a nation to protect and defend ; and I can easily see the propriety of the observation you quote from the Prussian hero, that the prosperity of a state depends upon the discipline of its army. This discipline reared the Roman Empire and the British ; and the American will stand or fall, in my opinion, according as it adheres to or deviates from the same discipline.

If there is not wisdom and vigour enough in the civil government to support the military officers in introducing and establishing such a discipline, it must be owing to the advantages of soil and climate, and our extream distance from our enemies, not to our own strength, virtue, or wisdom, if we do not fail.

The army must be well officered, armed, disciplined, fed, cloathed, covered, and paid ; — in these respects we do as well as we can. Time, I hope, will assist us, and every officer of the army would do well to suggest to his friends and correspondents in Congress, and in the Legislatures of the several States, every defect and every improvement in those particulars which occurs to him. I am in more anxiety for cloaths and tents than any thing, because the health as well as discipline of the army depend much upon them.

We shall never do well untill we get a regular army, and this will never be untill men are inlisted for a longer

duration, and that will never be effected untill we are more generous in our encouragement to men. But I am convinced that time alone will persuade us to this measure: and in the mean time we shall very indiscreetly waste a much greater expense than would be necessary for this great purpose in temporary calls upon militia, besides risking the loss of many lives and much reputation.

Congress has not determined to have no regard to the line of succession in promotions, but only that this line shall not be an invariable rule; *cæteris paribus*, the line will be pursued, but they mean to reserve a right of distinguishing extraordinary merit, or demerit. This rule may be abused. But is it not necessary? all good things are liable to abuse. I am afraid, nay I know, it will be abused in particular instances. But if we make the succession an invariable rule, will not the abuse be greater?

Is it not common in the British army to promote junior officers over the heads of their superiours? nay even officers in the same regiment and on the same command? I have been told of several instances. This however is wrong.

Your opinions of men and things I wish I knew in more detail, because I have a good opinion of your judgment of both, and I fear, situated as I am, many things relating to both may not have come to my knowledge that I ought to know. As y^e first officer in the Massachusetts service, you have in some sort the patronage of all the officers of y^t State. I hope you will recommend the best men for promotion.

I confess myself very ignorant of the military characters from that State.

By some expressions in the close of your letter, I conclude you were not perfectly satisfied with a late promotion. Be assured, Sir, if that was raising a junior officer, over the head of any superiour, it was not considered in that light by the gentlemen who did it. The person

promoted was thought to be the oldest Brigadier, and intitled to advancement by the line of succession. And it is my opinion he would have been made a Major General much sooner if his experience had not been thought indispensable in the Adjutant General's Department.*

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your affectionate servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.†

KING'S BRIDGE, Augst 18th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — Early this morning the Phenix man of war, Rose frigate, and the two tenders came to sail and stood down the river, keeping close under the east shore, in order to avoid the fire of our cannon ; but notwithstanding this precaution the Phenix was thrice hull'd by our shot from Mount Washington, and one of the tenders once. The Rose was hull'd once by a shot from Burdit's Ferry. They kept their men close, otherwise some of them would have been picked down by a party of riflemen who were posted on the bank. They fired grape shot as they passed, but did no damage save to one tent ; we hope to hear that your batteries have done the work for some of them. We shall recover some swivels, guns, gun barrels, shot, &c, out of the wreck of the tender which was burnt the other night, the particulars of which shall be transmitted to your Excellency as soon as I can obtain them. General Clinton has about 1,400 men already come in, but their quarters are so scattered that it will be almost impossable to collect them suddenly if occasion

* The reference is to the election of Horatio Gates as Major-General. On the first organization of the American army, in July, 1775, he was appointed Adjutant-General with the rank of Brigadier-General, but his promotion in the following year caused considerable dissatisfaction in New England. — Eds.

† Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 8. — Eds.

should require it. If there are any spare tents, I earnestly beg for them, if it were but for one regiment. General Clinton has orders from the Convention of the State of New York, to purchase 10,000 feet of boards for erecting sheds, &c, but it is uncertain when we shall have them. I shall to morrow send for 6 or 700 of tools, being able to employ that number more than we have at present. The more I view this post the more I am convinced of its importance. The ships have now tryed the practicability of passing our works. They have explored every part of the shore as far as they have gone up the river, and sounded the river in almost every place. Should the ships rejoin the fleet without receiving much damage, I think How will be emboldened to attempt an attack somewhere above this place, thinking that there may be a greater probability of succeeding here than in the face of so many and strong works as have been erected in and around the city. However, should his inclination lead him this way, nature has done much for us, and we shall as fast as possible add the strength of art. Our men are in good health and spirits, and I dare say will give them a warm reception. I should be glad to have the carriages for the four-pounders sent forward the moment they are done, as we have not as yet a single cannon mounted beyond Mount Washington.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

I have just now received your Excellency's commands to enquire into the cause of the inactivity of some of the row gallies in the late attack on the enemy's ships; but as the gallies have all left this post and fallen down to the city I must beg your Excellency to excuse me from that service.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

KINGSBRIDGE, Augst 23, 1776,
half past one o'clock, P.M.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am so unhappy as not to receive your letter until this moment, having been all this forenoon with the engineers viewing the ground, and laying out the works, but upon sight of your letter I have ordered the detachment here to parade and march for Mount Washington as soon as possible, and the detachment at that place, which consists of near eight hundred, to march forward agreeable to your Excellency's direction.

I hope soon to hear good news from Long Island. I have never been afraid of the force of the enemy, I am more so of their arts; they must be well watched. They, like the Frenchman, look one way and row the other. However, I trust that they will not find Americans deficient either in fortitude or policy. A floating bridge or number of boats seems to be highly necessary for a communication on Harlem River. I submit to your Excellency's consideration, whether some of the fire rafts (as they are called) might not be employ'd to advantage for this purpose.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's humb^{le} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

KINGSBRIDGE, Augst 24th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — In order to ease Head Quarters as much as possible, and on account of our distance from

* Washington's answer to Heath's letters of August 23 and August 24 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 10, 11. — Eds.

thence, general or garrison court martials have been appointed at this post for the tryal of offenders. Brigadier General Mifflen has sent me the enclos'd this day. But I pause untill I know your Excellency's pleasure (which I desire you would be pleased to signify as soon as convenient) whether the before mentioned offender and all others, except in very extraordinary cases indeed, are to be tryed by courts martial appointed here or refered to those appointed from Head Quarters.

A very considerable quantity of sails and rigging striped off the vessells lately sunk near Mount Washington at present remains there. I submit to your Excellency's consideration, if it would not be well to send these further up the river where they might be safely stored, as it cannot be done here, the store houses being wanted for other uses.

On the 21st instant the body of a man was taken up at Burditt's Ferry. The commanding officer there not being able to find any civil authority appointed a court of enquiry to consider the cause of his death, who reported the enclosed. The body was afterwards buried, and the money and effects are in the hands of Col^o Ward. It since appears that Hardenbrook, for that was his name, was by occupation a carpenter, belonging to the City of New York, who had been heretofore employd by Dunmore or Tryon, and for whom he retained an affection, that upon the day of the ships falling down the river he attempted to get on board of them, but found a watery grave the reward of such unrighteousness. I am told that he has a brother in the city who is a staunch friend to American liberty, and who, I suppose, is as yet unacquainted with the fate of his brother.

The detachment from the two brigades amounting to ten or eleven hundred men with surprising alertness almost instantly turnd out on yesterday and marched some miles towards the city, and this day upon the flood tide

formed upon their parades. The officers and men appeared greatly disapointed on yesterday when they were told that the enemy were not moving and that they might return to their quarters.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

JOSEPH REED * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

To Major Gen. Heath.

SIR, — The General desires you will detain the powder you have received till farther order at Kingsbridge, except 1 ton to be sent down ; the remainder to be procured occasionally.

The report of the evacuation of Long Island last night is true ; it was a measure founded in the fullest necessity after the surprize of our troops last Tuesday, by which the flower of our army and some of our best officers were lost. Add to this that the constant rains upon troops without cover had so spoil'd the ammunition and enfeebled the men that had the enemy attempted to force our lines they must have done it with great ease. The ships have also been trying to get up the whole week, which if they could effect our communication would have been cut off, and the whole army must have surrendered at discretion. Under these circumstances the remaining general officers were unanimously of opinion that it was absolutely necessary to retreat, which was done so as to bring off all our ammunition and

* Joseph Reed was born in Trenton, N. J., Aug. 27, 1741, and died in Philadelphia March 5, 1785. He was educated at Princeton, where he graduated in 1757, and studied law both on this side of the Atlantic and in London. At the breaking out of the war he was engaged in the successful practice of his profession in Philadelphia. On the organization of the army he became military secretary to Washington ; and in June, 1776, he was made Adjutant-General. He subsequently filled important places both in the military and civil service. See William B. Reed's "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed." — Eds.

artillery, except the heavy pieces, and most of our provisions. Our situation is in all respects critical. L^d Stirling and Gen. Sullivan are both prisoners; the latter was permitted to come out this morning on his parole with a message from L^d Howe. This is the substance of what has passed in this important week.

I am, Sir, your most obed. hbbl. serv.

JOS. REED.

NEW YORK, August 30th, 1776.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

KINGSBRIDGE, Aug^t 31st, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — What fatality attends the sinking of the chevaux de frise I cannot tell, I was extremely uneasy yesterday at the delay. I went to the place, called Cap^t Cooke on shore, told him every moment was precious, and that if any benifit was ever to be reaped from them it would probably be soon. He told me that they met with many and great difficulties, that the night before last one of the vessells which was fitted for sinking, drove with her anchors nearly down to the glass house. I have just this moment received the inclosed from Col^o Hutchinson. How the rapidity of the current should be but just now discovered I cannot tell. I wish Col^o Putnam† if he can be spared may still superintend this business, or such other order be taken as your Excellency shall think proper.

Judge Morris this moment informs me that troops have been seen at New Town.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

* General Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 11. — Eds.

† Colonel, afterward General, Rufus Putnam. — Eds.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

KINGSBRIDGE, Sep^r 13th, 1776.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, — Being so unhappy as to differ in sentiment from a majority of the Hon^{ble} Board of General Officers of the army of the United States of America, in the important question whether a former determination of the Board should be reconsidered, and the City of New York now be evacuated, and some of the general officers desiring that the reasons of the gentlemen differing in sentiment from the majority might be stated, I do most freely and heartily state mine, which I am ready to avow and declare to the world.

1st Obj^{tn} to the evacuating the City. Because it gives such unspeakable advantage to the enemy. In all invasions of a country, a wise and politick general will, if possible, early avail himself of some place of importance, free and easy of access to navigation, and if possible at the conflux of the most considerable rivers, where he can with ease form his magazines, fortify and secure the place for a safe retreat in case of necessity, for an asylum for his sick and wounded, and for the advantage of winter quarters, all of which are capital objects in the views of a commander; and clear it is that the City of New York has from the very first landing of the enemy at Staten Island been the object of their commanders. Their manœuvre from Staten Island to Long Island, together with the whole of their present manœuvres, are but so many clear and striking evidences of it. The city and its environs being surrounded with a great variety of works, has much puzzled the enemy. The city being their object, as I have before observed, their whole attention has been centering to obtain the posses-

sion of it, which has induced them to keep their fleet and army as much as possible together, and with all this collected force they have discovered a diffidence (fortified as our camp has been) of attacking us. The city being now about to be put into their hands, gives them almost (not to enumerate) every advantage which they can wish to have, and leads to my

2nd Obj^{tn}. Because it gives the enemy an unspeakable advantage, to attack different States with great ease and advantage, 1st Because having got possession of the city well fortified a small garrison will be sufficient to defend it, which will enable them to employ almost their whole force against the neighbouring States, where they will ravage the country, disarm the inhabitants, and derive to themselves many advantages, and compel us unavoidably to detach our army, which is a manœuvre often times very dangerous, and in the present case will serve only to fatigue and harass our troops.

3^{rdly} Because it will give the enemy an opportunity to infest our sea coast, with nearly the whole of their ships of war, as they will be no longer necessary here to cover the landing of troops or guarding the transports and store-ships in the harbour, which will now ride in safety at the wharves.

4^{thly} Because from its central situation as a safe rendezvous for the enemies' ships and troops both winter and summer, the giving them the city entire will afford them a great advantage, by winter as well as summer campaigns, to annoy and distress the United States, both northward and southward.

5^{thly} Because I think it will greatly dispirit both the army and country, partly at this time and much more so when they come to see and hear that the enemy are making excursions, both eastward and southward, which I think a man need neither be a prophet or son of a prophet to foresee.

6^{thly} Because I think our situation, (having so many works thrown up) and numbers if properly disposed of as would have enabled us to have kept the enemy at bay untill the campaign was spun out. As the enemy have all along discovered no great fondness for attacking our lines, I think that if the army had been posted immediately after, agreeable to the determination of the preceeding board of gen^l officers, the enemy would not have dar'd to attack us, and if they had would have met with a rebuff.

The foregoing with several others are the reasons for my being against a reconsideration of a former determination. If your Excellency should desire any further explanation of the last objection, as to our being in ability to keep the enemy at bay, I am ready to do it.

I am unhappy when I differ from others in sentiment, especially those who I revere for their wisdom and knowledge, and more so if it be on matters of vast importance. But I must act agreeable to the dictates of my own reason, and cannot give up my own opinion untill I am convinced by better reasons than my own, that I am mistaken.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

KINGSBRIDGE, Oct^r 8th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL,— Being posted at some distance from the other general officers of the State of Massachusetts Bay, I have found it very difficult to obtain their opinion of the field officers proper to be recommended to that

* Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 18, 19. — EDS.

State to serve in the army in future. General Nixon was at my quarters on yesterday, General Fellows was on duty and could not attend, — I did with General Nixon arraigne the officers for 12 regiments whose names are in the inclos'd list. I shew the list this morning to General Lincoln, who joyns with us in sentiment, and desired that Lieut. Col^o Seth Read of Col^o Paterson's Regiment might be added for a regiment. I think he is worthy of one. We have put Col^o Prescott on the list; our motive was his past heroic conduct. I think he will not serve after the present campaign, and I submit it to your Excellency's better judgment, whether it be best to put him on the list or not, Parks, Fuller, Hamblin, Peters, and Thompson are at present Captains. I wish to know your Excellency's opinion of this list, and whether it be your pleasure that we should proceed to communicate it to such of the field officers as we can, and obtain from them a recommendation of cap^{ts} and subalterns most proper to serve in the new army. We also beg leave to propose an alteration in the list (if it should appear to be for the interest of the service) this day or tomorrow, as a more particular enquiry is makeing with respect to several of the officers, whose conduct since in the army is better known to some other general officers.

I also take the liberty to inclose to your Excellency the sentence of a general court martial, upon two subaltern officers and beg leave to suggest to your Excellency (in case your Excellency should approve the sentences) if it might not be as well to remitt the mûlts, especially in the case of Smedes.

I have the honor to be. &c

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

CHARLES LEE * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMP PHILIPSBURG, Nov^r ye 21st, [1776].

DR. GENERAL, — I yesterday receiv'd your note for which I thank you, but had before receiv'd the intelligence of the enemy's having landed in the Jersey. Colonel Read has written me a short billet that I do not well understand. I shall be oblig'd to you for some account of the condition and progress of your barracks, and what number of men they are or will be capable of lodging, and what is the state of your defences should you be attack'd, as of likewise your numbers, and how they are station'd. If you [have] any sketch of the country, be so kind as to favour me with it, and am, dr. General,

Yours most sincerely,

CHARLES LEE.

General HEATH, Pecks Kill.

JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON † TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMP RAMAPOUGH, Nov^r 25, 1776.

HON^d SIR, — Every man, and I was going to say every woman, within a large circle of this place who stand for Whigs, and for ought I know are really such, are constantly distressing me with their fears and apprehensions from the enemy and Tories; they are confident the latter

* Charles Lee was born in Dernhall, Cheshire, England, in 1731, and at an early age entered the English army. In 1754 the regiment to which he was attached was ordered to America, and he served here in several campaigns. Subsequently he had a chequered career in various parts of Europe. In 1773 he returned to America, and in June, 1775, he was made a Major-General in the American army. But he proved unworthy of confidence, intriguing to supersede Washington and disobeying the commands of his superior. In August, 1778, he was found guilty on three charges by a court martial, and suspended from command in the army for one year. He died in Philadelphia Oct. 2, 1782, while on a visit to that place. In our own time it has been abundantly proved that while a prisoner of the British he was in treasonable correspondence with Sir William Howe. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. pp. 657-661; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxii. pp. 343-347; George H. Moore's "Treason of Charles Lee." — Eds.

† For a notice of Colonel, afterward General, Huntington, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 3 n. — Eds.

have so much knowledge of the country as to guide a body of troops any where among the mountains. Their anxiety has gone far towards intimidating some of my own troops; a considerable part of the inhabitants between this and the enemy have been conversant with the enemy since they came to Hackinsack and have had meetings among themselves. I communicate what intelligence I get, for your information and not because it all appears important to

Your Honour's most obed. hble. serv^t.

JED. HUNTINGTON.

26th. Your order of yesterday came to hand last night at 2 o'clock. Col. Tyler marched at daybreak for Toppon. I hear a large numbers of waggons are on the road loaded with flour from Toppon coming this way. It is said Bergen County is to raise a reg. to join the British army and that one Buscart or some such hard name is appointed Colonel, and that they have given a specimen of their valour by shooting a Whig, one Zabriskie.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PEEKS-KILL, NOV. 26th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have to acknowledge the honor of the receipt of yours of the 24th inst^t. I do not recollect to have sent any letters by the Friday's post, who lost his mail in an infamous manner.

I have also received from Col. Harrison the Resolves of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress, of the 19th instant, with a signification of your Excellency's pleasure that they should be published in Orders, which shall be done tomorrow.

* Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 24, 25.—Eds.

I have for several days been exerting my utmost endeavours to secure the stores on the west side of the river, and have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency, that thro' the vigilance of Col. Tupper and his party the provisions, warlike and naval stores near the river at Tapan have been safely brought off, altho' the ships fired a number of cannon shot at the boats.

Major Clark who was posted at Tapan informed me yesterday by letter that there was at that place a considerable quantity of flour, and that he was ordered to join his reg^t. I immediately sent orders to Col. Tyler's reg^t to march down to Tapan, and to impress all the teams between Col. Huntington's post and that place and to bring off the flour, part to the entrance of the mountains and part near to King's Ferry. In the afternoon I received a letter from Col. Hay acquainting of me that many of the disaffected in that vicinity had gone to the enemy, some of whom had hinted that they would conduct the enemy up and cut off our troops; upon which having consulted my brigadiers, I ordered General Scott's brigade over the river, to cover the provisions, to support Col. Huntington in case of need, or possess the mountain on the back of Fort Montgomery. I have also station'd the Lady Washington galley at the ferry to prevent insults from the enemy's boats or tenders. General Mifflin's goods have been brought over to this place.

A survey of the river and soundings has lately been taken and is now before the Convention of the State of New York. General Clinton is confident that obstructions may be effectually made by the sinking of blocks. I have wrote the Convention that if they shou'd think it practicable, and should make the attempt, I will assist them all in my power. The place proposed is some miles above Fort Constitution.

Our numbers in a few days will be much diminished. General Scott has wrote to the Convention to encourage

his brigade to continue a short time longer in the service ; and thinks he shall persuade many of them to tarry. But sad experience has taught me to expect but little from soldiers after the expiration of the time of their engagement. I think the recruiting of a new army will be successful, if the men can by and by some how or another, a few at a time, be indulged to go home, which seems to be a darling object with them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

JOHN MORIN SCOTT* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMP AT HAVERSTRAW, 28th Nov^r, 1776.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — I think it my duty to convey to you every intelligence in my power. In doing this I gratify my own zeal in the glorious cause and hope to commend myself to that opinion which I shall always wish to hold in the estimate of a gentleman so well attached to it as you are.

Since I had the honor of writing to you I rec^d an answer to the letter I wrote to Col. Huntington to know of him whether he wanted any aid from me, informing me that he wanted none at present, as he expected Col. Tyler back to him in a day or two. Upon information that about 10 tons of lead were lying at Tapan, I wrote to Major Clarke desiring him to convey it by land to one Smith's, on the south side of Verdridge Hook, to which place I have sent flat bottom'd boats with a guard to

* John Morin Scott was born in New York, probably in 1728, and graduated at Yale College in 1746. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1752. He soon became prominent and took an active part in public affairs. In June, 1776, he was appointed a Brigadier-General in the New York militia ; and from 1777 to 1782 he was a State Senator. From 1779 to 1783 he was also a delegate to Congress ; and from March, 1778, until his death, Sept. 14, 1784, he was Secretary of the State of New York. See Dexter's Yale Biographies, second series, pp. 85-89. — Eds.

bring it to the ferry just above where I am quartered. I think I saw the boats returning this day a little before dinner; but to my surprize I have not yet had a report from the officer of the party of his doings. I intend to send it to you, unless you should direct otherwise. I therefore beg your immediate direction. I have received an answer to my dispatches to our Convention, which have produced resolves that, however the merit of my brigade may be, do me personally infinitely more honor than my poor deserts could entitle me to. They have thanked me for my offer to serve one month longer without pay, and have sent me £1,500 as a gratuity to my brigade to induce them to continue so long in the service. Upon receipt of them I paraded the brigade, published the Resolves of Convention; and endeavored by a speech to animate them to close with the terms; and to remove all suspicions that my arguments proceeded from motives of interest I closed all by offering my month's pay as a small pittance in addition to the gratuity given by Convention to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The brigade having been drawn up in a circle, I left them for near an hour to free consultation and in the interim ordered them liquor, not to intoxicate, but merely to refresh them. On my return to the center of the circle, I addressed myself to the officers with an exhortation they would set an example to the men; and concluded with requesting those of them who chose to imitate my example to join me in the center. Upon this to my great satisfaction all the field officers but one who pleaded indisposition, and all the other commissioned officers except seven, joined me. I then directed the officers in their proper departments to furnish me with returns of the non-commissioned officers and privates willing to continue in the service, at 12 o'clock to morrow. The result of the whole I shall not fail to communicate.

But, Sir, should the whole brigade continue what shall

I be enabled to do with them? They will be of little service, unless reinforced by the army or militia. I am sorry that neither the promised field piece and three light horsemen are come. I want both much. Be pleased to inform General Lee without loss of time, that Cooper whom he sent with dispatches to General Washington has with the dispatches fallen into the hands of the enemy and is now confined at Hackinsack. The inhab^{ts} of the lower parts of this county and the upper parts of Bergen County are going to the enemy daily in great numbers; some carting for them, some going into their service, and others waiting on them for protections; the Tories insolent and numerous. These evils I might in a good measure prevent could I be reinforced.

We have accounts, tolerably certain, that the body of the enemy from Hackinsack downwards are about 8,000; that the van of these have passed over Pasaick at a fording place above Acquachnock Bridge; that our army is encreasing; lies posted on the west of Newark, near the mountains; that another body of the enemy have landed at Amboy, 8,000; that Lord Stirling and Gen^l Bell's brigades had not yet joined General Washington; but that two Southern brigades had joined him. I have constantly kept horsemen riding down towards the enemy to procure me intelligence; but I much want the light horsemen for this purpose. Rest assured, Sir, that I shall seek the best information, and make it my business to give you repeated acco^{ts} of every thing material in my power to collect.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble serv^t.

JN^o MORIN SCOTT.

P. S. I this moment received the enclosed and have therefore sent a written order to Col. Tyler at Tapan to remain there with his regiment till he receives my further directions.

Honorable Major General HEATH.

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

November 28th, 1776.

SIR, — The Convention of this State, impressed with a sense of your politeness and attention to them, have directed me in the strongest terms to return their thanks for your several favours ; the intelligence communicated, the anxiety you express for the better security of this State ; and the success of our common cause by obstructing Hudson's River ; and preserving the important communication between the eastern and southern governments.

We have taken into consideration the plan suggested by Brigadier General Clinton for obstructing the river opposite to Pollepel's Island ; and conceiving it to be practicable we are determined with the permission of Congress to proceed with the utmost vigour to carry it into effect. The assistance you so cheerfully and obliging promise will be very essential, and we shall from time to time avail ourselves of it.

With great pleasure we received the resolution of his Excellency General Washington.

The necessity of securing the passes in the Highlands is so urgent, and the motions and designs of the enemy so mysterious and uncertain, that it would have given us infinite pain, had the troops in your division been withdrawn. We entertain no doubt of his Excellency General Washington's attention to this great object ; and trust that at all events a force will be maintained both at the lower and the oblong pass, as well as on the western shore, sufficient to baffle any enterprize which may be formed by the enemy.

Nothing shall be wanting on our part to prevail on the troops of this State to continue in the service for one month longer. We have upon this subject agreed to the

* For a notice of Pierre Van Cortlandt see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 58 n. — Eps.

resolutions which we have the honor to transmit; and we are not without strong hopes that they will have their effect.

Many of our militia have been furnished with arms and accoutrements belonging to the State; for the return of which the respective Colonels are answerable. To prevent the loss or embezzlement of those essential articles, which it is out of our power to replace, the utmost care is necessary. We have therefore enjoined Lient. Colo. Hardenborg by this opportunity to deliver all the public arms in the hands of his battalion at this place on the dismissal of the militia, and to communicate this injunction to such of the other field officers as are chargable with public arms; and we entreat you to give all the weight to this direction which may be proper to secure its efficacy.

I am with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient humble serv^t.

By order of the Committee of Safety.

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT, *V. Pres^{dt}*.

The Honorable Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PEEKS KILL, Dec^r 2nd, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 29th ultimo, and am glad to hear of your Excellency's safe arrival at Brunswick without the least interruption from the enemy.

I am happy to find my honest endeavours to do my duty crowned with your Excellency's approbation. In addition to the stores which I before mentioned to have been secured and brought off, a quantity of pearlash, bees wax, oyl, &c, and two brass patterarous which belong to the States have been brought here, an invoice thereof is

enclosed. I have ordered them to Fish-Kill. I have also secured ten tons of lead, which is sent to the same place.

I am paying the utmost attention to the plan for obstructing Hudson River and have detached General George Clinton with two of his strongest regiments to push this most important business. They serve for a garrison for Fort Constitution at the same time that they are at this duty.

General Scott's brigade, Col^o Tashe's and Colonel Snider's regiments are gone home, except about 100 of General Scott's brigade that have been prevailed upon to stay a little longer. The Convention of the State of New York had sent them an address and £1,500 currency as a gratuity to encourage them to continue a month longer. I did all in my power to prevail upon them, and also transmitted to General Scott your Excellency's letter urging the expediency of their staying at this time. But all was in vain. Home they must goe, but many mean to enlist, as they say, after they have seen their friends.

The troops now at this post are but few and much scattered, which will put it out of our power to accomplish so much work as I fear will be expected; but no endeavours of mine shall be wanting.

I have just received a number of Resolves from the Committee of Safety of the State of New York, which I take the liberty to inclose, not knowing whether your Excellency has as yet received them.

General Lee is this day beginning to pass the river with his division; and numbers of the northern army, we are told, are on their march to joyn you, so that I hope soon to congratulate your Excellency on some signal victory over the enemy, unless upon the approach of the reinforcements they should give you the slip, which I rather think will be the case.

I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT.

PEEKS-KILL, 4th Dec^r, 1776.

SIR, — Your favours of the 27th and 28th of Nov^r are before me ; I should have sooner acknowledged the receipt of them, had not a multiplicity of pressing avocations prevented.

It gives me the highest satisfaction to find my endeavours to serve the public cause meet with the approbation of so respectable a body as the honorable Convention of the State of New York.

I have the pleasure also to acquaint you that by a letter received from his Excellency General Washington, dated at Brunswick the 29th of Nov^r, his Excellency is pleased to express his approbation of my offers of assistance in obstructing the passage of the North River, as it is an object of so much consideration that too much attention cannot be paid to it.

I am sorry to find that a number of soldiers, both sick and well, have obtruded themselves upon you, and thank you for the kind assistance which has been afforded to them ; they were not of my division, but having come within the limits of my command, I immediately gave orders for those who were fit for duty to join their regiment, and that a surgeon of the hospital should attend the sick, and I am surprized this evening to find that the latter has been neglected. I have this evening directed Doct^r McKnight to repair to Fish-Kill to morrow ; he has promised that he will attend with medicines, &c.

I yesterday ordered to Fort Montgomery a quantity of sheet iron, which is to be forwarded to the Forrest of Dean, in order to compleat the stoves for the use of the northern army. I shall pay a particular attention to the posts and passes on the west side of Hudson's River which lie within the limits of my command, and shall

order over from time to time such reinforcements as our strength will admit of, or the exigencies of affairs require. At present, as General Lee is passing that way with a very respectable body of troops, any reinforcement of our posts there is unnecessary.

I thank the Honorable Convention for the measures which they have taken to afford speedy aid in case occasion should require it on the west side of Hudson's River, by holding the militia of Orange and Ulster Counties in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

A hospital for the reception of the sick of my department is extremely wanted. Doct^r M^cKnight, who is my principal surgeon, acquaints me that the Academy at Fish Kills is well calculated for that purpose, and has been recommended to him by some gentlemen of the committee. If it is unimproved and it should be agreeable to the Honorable Convention that it should be used as an hospital, it will benefit the public; if it should appear disagreeable, a house must be somewhere or another built or fitted up.

I am, Sir, with respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. PIERRE VAN CORTLAND.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PEEKS-KILL, Dec^r 8th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yesterday afternoon L^t Col. Vose arrived here from Albany with Groaton's, Bond's and Porter's regiments, making in the whole between 5 and 600 men, on their way to join your Excellency. I am furnishing them with tents, provisions, &c., and not a

* Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 26, 27. — Eds.

moment's time shall be lost in facilitating their march; they do not disembark here, but fall down to Havestraw, and will begin their march this day. Generals Gates and Arnold will be at Goshen this night with Patterson's, Starke's, Poor's, and Read's regiments.

We have information that besides the ships which sailed thro' the Sound to the eastward, several large ones (the *Asia*, *Eagle*, &c.) sailed round Long-Island. It is conjectured by many, that they are bound to Hallifax to winter, and that barracks for the reception of a large body of troops have lately been built there. A number of valuable prizes have been taken to the eastward, in particular one with arms, clothing, &c.

General Spencer is removing to Crompond, where the stores which were at North-Castle are deposited. The heavy artillery, consisting of one brass 24 p^r and seven iron 12 p^rs, is at this place.

General George Clinton is pushing the obstructions in the river. I have ordered Col. Deroussi's Canadian detachment to join him. A great number of convalescents left here by General Lee (and others, collected from the Jersies, North Castle, Stamford, &c., many of whom can never be of any service but a burden to the public) I think had better be discharged, return home and recruit, after which many of them will enlist.

I think the recruiting service is pretty successful; should be glad to be informed if the men belonging to one State are to enlist under the officers belonging to another, as there is a diversity of opinions on the matter. My own opinion is that they ought not, but perhaps I am mistaken.

We are impatient to hear from your Excellency and to know the truth of things, as many reports prevail here, one day that you are retreating before the enemy, the next that you have obtained some signal advantage, killed some principal officers, &c.

By a person who has just made his escape from the enemy, I am informed that they are building barracks in Fort Independence near Kingsbridge.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most humb^l serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PEEKS-KILL, Dec^r 10th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — The last evening about 8 o'clock I received the honor of yours of the 7th instant, and immediately gave orders for the regiments of General Parsons's Brigade which are on this side of Hudson's River to pass over, which they will do this day. I shall also order Huntington's and Tyler's to joyn them, and pursue the effecting the purposes which your Excellency has been pleased to point out.

This post will now be left in a very defenceless condition, as to men, — not a single Continental regiment on this side of the river, and nearly all the field artillery gone over the river. The enemy's fleet which sailed eastward a few days since by the last accounts lying off New London, — ninty one in number. The account in Gaines' New York paper of Dec^r 2nd is as follows: "Thursday last several transports full of troops and military stores passed up the East River into Connecticut Sound: at the same time Sir Peter Parker and M^r Hotham with the Asia, Renown, and other men of war fell down to the Narrows in order to joyn the above transports as 't is suppos'd about the east end of

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 27. — Eps.

Long-Island. Various conjectures are raised concerning their destination."

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

CHARLES INGLIS * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

VERPLANK'S POINT, Decem. 11, 1776.

SIR, — Majors Huntington and Pullen favoured me with a visit to day, and gave me information concerning the mode of procedure in accomplishing the business on which I came here (and with which your Excellency is now acquainted) which I was not so fortunate as to know before. After the best enquiry at New York, I understood that the members of the Convention at Fishkill were the principal persons to whom I should apply for leave to bring home my family and furniture; but could not learn what gentleman was vested with the chief military command at Peekskill. Even after I came here and was told that your Excellency commanded at that place, I was assured that it would be quite sufficient you should see my letter to the Honourable Convention, without any particular application to your self.

The above gentlemen, however, gave me to understand that the management and transaction of such matters is committed to you. This being the case, I could not be satisfied with my own conduct till I had assured your

* Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D., first Episcopal Bishop of Nova Scotia, was a zealous Loyalist. The date and place of his birth are not known; but in 1764 he became Assistant Rector of Trinity Church, and on the death of Rev. Dr. Auchmuty in 1777 he became Rector, holding that office until the evacuation of New York by the British in 1783, when he went to Halifax, and subsequently visited England, where he was consecrated. He died in Halifax, Feb. 24, 1816. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. i. pp. 563-565; Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. p. 349; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxix. pp. 1, 2. — Eds.

Excellency that my omission of addressing you on the occasion did not proceed from any want of deference or respect to you, but purely from not knowing the steps that were proper to be taken; and I flatter myself that this will serve as an apology for the omission.

The gentlemen above mentioned intimated that some difficulty in suffering my family to come away might arise from an apprehension that they would give some information respecting the country; to which I shall only say, that I am perfectly willing your Excellency should order an oath of secrecy to be administered to those of them who are come to the years of discretion; and I here solemnly promise on the word of a gentleman and a Christian that, so far from desiring them to violate their oath, I shall inculcate on them the sacredness of an oath in general, and their duty to observe this one in particular. M^{rs} Antill was lately permitted by General Dickinson to come from Brunswick to New York, on taking such an oath, and I believe she has religiously observed it. Such precautions are certainly prudent; tho I am of opinion that there is much better intelligence conveyed to both armies in this unhappy contest, than could be given or communicated by women. My family have been absent from home near fifteen months. I am distressed beyond expression at the thought of their being absent another winter; and bringing them home is, believe me, the only object I have in view, without the least desire or intention of interfering with either military or political matters.

Women have liberty to remove with their children, servants, and effects from New York; I flattered myself that the Convention and officers in the Continental service would grant a similar indulgence to such women as would chuse to move from the country to New York; and I cherished the hope of such an indulgence to my family, the rather as I had been instrumental myself in

assisting some families to remove from New York to their friends who were engaged in the Continental cause. The brave are no less distinguished by their humanity than their valour ; and I am persuaded of you, Sir, to use the words of Alexander commonly called the Great — “That you do not make war on women or captives.” If you are a husband and a father your own bosom will tell you what mine must feel at this time, by the absence of a wife and three helpless infants so long, and on the prospect of leaving them among strangers in such calamitous times. Place yourself in my situation one moment, and I only appeal to the feelings of your heart to decide on my case. Yet far be it from me to desire you would in the least depart from what you conceive to be your duty. I only request that after taking such precautions as prudence dictates to prevent injury to yourself, you would permit the innocent, the feeble, and helpless to take sanctuary in the arms of those who love and would willingly protect them.

The distance at which my family is at present is so great, and there will be so many difficulties in removing them, that if I had liberty now to remove them, it would not be possible for them to be here in less than *ten days*. This circumstance makes me the more anxious that the matter should be speedily determined, as from the advanced season we may expect the North River will be closed by ice near that time.

Two gentlemen, Mr Philip J. Livingston and Mr John Moore, are concerned with me in the flag of truce and are here with the same in[ten]tion to bring home their families. I have read this letter to them, and they beg that your Excellency would consider what I say of my case as applicable exactly to theirs. Mr Livingston desires me to inform you that he intends speedily to remove from this continent to Jamaica in the West Indies where he has an estate, which makes him the more anxious to

remove his family, as he proposes to carry them with him.

I hope you will excuse any inaccuracies that may be in this letter, which is written in the dark cabin of a schooner that is agitated by wind and tide.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble serv^t.

CHARLES INGLIS.

His Excellency General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HAVERSTRAW, Dec^r 11th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — I received your orders the night before last for the march of General Parsons's brigade, and yesterday noon the three regiments at Peek-Kill began their march, making about 500 men which are now here. I have order'd Huntington's and Tyler's to join me; they may make about three hundred men, after leaving a captain and 50 men as a guard at the pass in the mountains. Col. Vose with Greateon's, Bond's, and Porter's is now seven miles advanced. I have sent to him to halt until I come up, unless he should have received orders for his conduct, either from your Excellency, Gen^l Lee, or Gates. He has about 500 men, which will make in the whole about 1,300 men. I find the inhabitants to be in the utmost distress. The Tories are joining the enemy, and insulting and disarming the Whigs, stripping them of their cattle, effects, &c. Complaints, petitions, &c. are continually presenting for relief, and the greatest complaints are from Orange Town, Clerks Town, and the neighbourhood of Hackensack. I cannot pass therefore without securing this neighbourhood. I think therefore to move by the way of Orange Town and Paramus to curb the disaffected, and if by any means it should appear

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 28, 29. — Eds.

that the enemy have not a body of troops at Fort Lee or E. neighbourhood, and but a small detachment at Hackensack, to endeavour to dislodge them. If it should be possible, I should be glad to know your Excellency's further pleasure.

On Saturday last a schooner with a flagg came up the river, with the Rev^d Charles Inglis and one M^r Moore on board to solicit of the Convention their families, which are now at Fish Kills, or in that vicinity. I gave orders for the flag to be treated with the utmost politeness and respect, and at the same time with as great precaution. I have forbid their going up either by land or water, and have stopped the vessel below the ferry. I sent the letters to the Convention after examination, and have wrote to them that I shall not consent to either of the persons going to Fish-Kills, or to their families being permitted to be sent to the city, as it appears to me that the cause may receive injury thereby. Distrust is the mother of security. The flag waits an answer from Convention, but my consent shall not be given unless directed by your Excellency. I have ordered the galley to lie near the schooner and to keep her boats rowing round her all night. The men of war have sailed down the river.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most humb^e serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HACKENSACK, Dec^r 15th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — On the 12th ins^t I reached Tapan, and yesterday made a forced march to this place, with so much secrecy and dispatch that the inhabitants had no

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 30, 31. — Eds.

knowledge of my coming. The enemy had left the town some days since, except five whom we took, two of them sick. We have taken about 50 of the disaffected and about 50 or 60 muskets, the greater part of which had been taken from the Whigs, as is supposed, and stored. At the dock we found one sloop loaded with hay, house furniture, some spirits, &c., which we have this day unloaded, a brig loaded with rum down the river about 7 miles, and got aground. I am afraid that we shall not be able to secure the effects. A schooner loaded with hay, furniture, &c., which had sailed from the dock, ran on the bank of the river, the wind being very fresh, and in the night overset, by which the goods were damaged, if not lost. Two or three companies have been raising here and in the vicinity, and field officers appointed, one Buskark Col. At his house we found 50 ^{bb} of flour, a number of hogsheads of rum, &c.; and at one Brown's, who is Lt Col., about 1,000 ^{lb} of cheese, &c.; one Tenpenny is Major. They are all gone down to York, to have matters properly settled, get ammunition, arms, &c., and were to have returned on yesterday. I believe we have luckily disconcerted them. Such of the inhabitants as are friendly receive us with joy, but are almost afraid to speak their sentiments, and indeed little or no intelligence can be got from the inhabitants. The disaffected have sent down a petition for troops to protect them, and expect them every moment (as they say), and by some reports from New York several regiments are in motion, and their destination said to be up the North River. This report is so much credited that I think it will be rather hazardous to move the troops which I have in this neighbourhood much more to the westward, as I shall thereby leave the passage on the back of Fort Montgomery too much exposed. I think therefore after having secured every thing here to move to Paramus, at least for a few days, as I can from that place protect this part of the country, and should

they attempt the pass in the mountains be beforehand of them.

Col. Vose with the three regiments from Ticonderoga have marched to the neighbourhood of Chatham, where they will arrive, I suppose, this night or tomorrow. I shall move in such manner as best to protect the country and harrass the enemy. Your Excellency is sensible that General Wadsworth's brigade go home in a few days, and I cannot learn that any militia are coming from Connecticut. I should be glad to know if your Excellency has wrote to the State of Massachusetts-Bay for any number of their militia, and whether they are expected. I regret the loss of the brave General Lee, and much more the manner in which he was taken. If the enemy should not be able to pass the Delaware, I think they will take a turn this way. Several thousands landed at Elizabeth Town on yesterday or the day before, and General How has lately gone after the army to your quarter.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most h^b serv^t.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PEEKS KILL, Dec^r 26th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yesterday General Wadsworth's brigade went home, leaving the stores without a guard until I sent one down.

The militia of this State are coming in. None have as yet arrived from the eastward. Brigadier General Warner was at Danbury the last night, with four companies only, more are hourly expected. General Lincoln is on the road. I have sent your Excellency's letter by express to meet him.

I have received p^r Colonel Sheldon 156,750 dollars,

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 35, 36. — Eds.

and shall apply them to the purposes directed by your Excellency.

The case of the regiments of General Lee and Sullivan's divisions, which are divided partly at your Excellency's camp and partly here, will be very difficult. The naked convalescents and sick were left here; they constitute the greater part of the regiments, and cannot get home without their wages, being destitute of money; and unless the colonels who are with your Excellency send the men's wages to them they will suffer.

Col. Read and Col. Little are here with such of their regiments as were left behind.

I shall endeavor to secure all the arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c., which are in the hands of the troops belonging to the States before they leave the camp if possible.

I find by your Excellency's Orders of the 21st of January last, that such recruits as should find "their own arms, provided they were good, should be allowed one dollar for the use of them." I should be glad to be informed if there was another Order that such as had arms found them should pay the like sum for the use of them. Such an Order I thought there was, but cannot find it as yet, and therefore request a determination from your Excellency, until which I shall delay the payment of the December abstracts.

The state of the regiment of artillery, a corps most essential to an army, is such that I cannot omit making mention of it to your Excellency. Many of those who are here would have enlisted, but no attempts have been made towards it. They will all go home in a few days and we shall not have men to discharge a cannon, unless I can prevail upon some of them to continue until I hear from your Excellency.

The Convention of this State for about a fortnight have been meditating a secret expedition, it is still a

profound secret (but talked of every where). This or some other intention of the enemy has induced them, as I am just informed, to send a brigade of Hessians up to Kingsbridge.

The moment I am able I shall pay attention to West Chester County. I have ordered a regiment down to-morrow, and hope ere long not only to curb the disaffected, and pick up some of the enemy, but also avail myself of quantities of forage from that quarter.

It is reported here that your Excellency has lately given orders respecting such plunder as may be taken from the enemy, or those who take up arms against us. If any new orders have been given in this respect I should beg to be acquainted with them. As soon as the tents, arms, tools, &c., are collected and stored, a return of all the stores shall be made to your Excellency.

I should be glad to know if your Excellency would have the artificers again engaged, or any part of them, and whether in a distinct corps, or taken from the regiments, as has been practised heretofore.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your Excellency's most humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PEEKS-KILL, Dec^r 28th, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received the honor of yours of the 21st instant, and am much distressed to hear of the disagreeable situation that your Excellency is like soon to be in.

None of the eastern militia have as yet arrived that I know of, except those mentioned in my letter of yesterday; when they come in I shall endeavour strictly to observe your Excellency's directions.

It is truly surprising that whilst the New England militia are marching hundreds of miles in a severe season and leaving a large body of the enemy near the center of their country, and none but militia to oppose their attempts to ravage, those who are in immediate danger of distruction should need rousing from a stupid lethargy to save themselves, and it will be more so if they should not be roused.

Philadelphia is undoubtedly an object of great importance, but, I think, cannot be more so than these passes of which if the enemy should avail themselves all communication between the Eastern and Southern States will be entirely cut off, and I cannot but think this to be a principal object with the enemy.

If I may be allowed to express my own opinion I think the service cannot under present circumstances be better promoted than by posting a respectable body of troops in West Chester County, and another in the Jersies, extending from Tapan to Morris Town. This will produce a diversion on the side of the enemy and at the same time secure our own communication. Whilst in the other case I think it will be in danger of being cut off. Your Excellency's superior wisdom will, however, best determine what should be done.

By a person the day before yesterday from New York we have a confirmation that General How is returned to that place, and that barracks are taking up with the greatest expedition and that a brigade of Hessians have moved up to King's bridge.

If the eastern militia should arrive agreeable to your Excellency's expectation I shall without loss of time move forward with them to joyn your Excellency, being determined *while I continue in the army* instantly to yield a chearfull obedience to your Excellency's commands.

The Committee from the State of Massachusetts Bay when they left this place committed to my care the com-

missions, beating orders, &c., for their officers, desiring that I would issue them agreeable to the directions given to them, and that I would transmit to them a list of the staff for the regiments in the Southern Department belonging to that State, for their confirmation and appointment.

My excursion into the Jersies immediately afterwards put it out of my power to pay attention to it. The present scattered state of the field officers of the several regiments still continues it out of my power to answer their expectations.

The recruiting service is an object of the highest importance, for upon the speedy raising and disciplining a new army is suspended the fate of America and of unborn millions. It is vain to trust to a militia. Many of those belonging to this State who have been lately called out under General Clinton have returned home in three or four days' time.

As I think the enemy are now going into winter quarters, or will in a few days, I solicit your Excellency for leave to ride to New England for a short time, as I am confident that the publick service may be promoted thereby, and as there are but few Continental troops now in the field, and a great number of general officers present; and at the same time the militia which are coming from Massachusetts Bay fully officered and commanded by a gentleman of whose "*judgment and ability*" your Excellency has expressed "*a very high opinion,*" I think I cannot better serve the publick cause than by paying a particular attention to the forming of the new regiments of that State, of which not only myself but also the officers are very desirous. The number of regiments which are to be raised by Massachusetts Bay, I think affords me grounds for a better plea than can be made by any other officer. I ask not for, nither do I desire, any particular station and it is my highest ambition

to obey your Excellency's orders; but shall I be thought immodest if I express a desire to command the troops raised by the State to which I belong. This they are anxious of, this I most ardently solicit;—to your Excellency's wise determination I submit it.

This moment the express from Providence calls in on his way to your Excellency with the agreeable news of the arrival of the Alfred's prize; on which I most heartily congratulate your Excellency. I have also just received a letter from Brigadier Gen^l Warner informing that one regiment of the Massachusetts militia are on the march from Danbury to this place, and others soon expected there. General Lincoln is still behind; he was some time since at Providence, but now on his march. General Pomroy is coming Colonel of a regiment from the County of Hampshire. I shall invariably pursue your Excellency's orders, but request your indulgence of my desire so far as is consistent with the publick good, for which I am determined to sacrifice every consideration.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

RECRUITING CERTIFICATE OF ROBERT ROGERS.*

VALENTINE'S HILL, December 30th 1776.

Whereas his Majesty's service makes it absolutely necessary that recruits should be raised, this is to certify that M^r Daniel Strang or any other gentleman who may

* Robert Rogers, a noted partisan leader, whose name is perpetuated in the remarkable precipice at Lake George known to all tourists as Rogers's Slide, was born in New Hampshire in 1727 and died in England in 1800. He had a very chequered career, serving with distinction during the French War from 1758 to 1760 at the head of a corps raised and commanded by himself, afterward filling the post of governor of Michilimackinac, espousing the cause of the mother country in the War of the Revolution, and again raising a corps for predatory service. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 233–236; Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. pp. 309, 310. — Eds.

bring in recruits shall have commissions according to the number he or they shall bring in for the Queen's American Rangers, — no more than forty shillings bounty to be given to any man, which is to be apply'd towards purchasing necessarys, — to serve during the present rebellion, and no longer. They will have their proportion of all rebel lands, and all priviledges equal to any of his Majesty's troops. The officers are to be the best judges in what manner they are to get their men in, either by partys, detachments, or other wise, as may seem most advantageous, which men are to be attested before the first majestrate within the Brittish lines.

ROBERT ROGERS,

Lt. Col^l, Commandant of the Queen's Rangers.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

PEEKS-KILL, Dec^r 30th, 1776.

SIR, — By Colonel Chester this moment arrived from his Excellency General Washington, who is at Newtown, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that early in the morning of Thursday last his Excellency in person at the head of about three thousand of our troops crossed the Delaware and attacked the enemy at Trenton, consisting of about 1,600 men; and after a brisk action of 35 minutes entirly routed them. 1 Colonel, 2 Lieu^t Colonels, 3 Majors, 4 Captains, 7 Lieu^{ts}, 12 Ensigns, one Judge Advocate, 2 Surgeons' Mates, 92 Sarjeants, 20 Drummers, 9 Musicians, 25 Officers' Servants, and 740 Rank and File were taken prisoners, besides killed and wounded; also taken 6 peices of brass cannon, two of which were 12^{pdrs}, 12 drums, 4 standards, 1,200 small arms, 6 waggons, a number of swords, caps, &c., besides

* For a notice of James Bowdoin, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 186 n. — Eds.

horses, &c. We had not more than four killed and eight wounded.

All the persons except one were Hessians. Our troops behaved with the greatest bravery. This signal victory at this time will be productive of the best consequences; ardor glows in every face; and I hope we shall soon retrieve all our losses.

I am, Sir, with respect and esteem,

Your obedient humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon^{ble} JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

CONVENTION OF NEW YORK TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

FISHKILL, 1st Jan^y, 1777.

SIR, — We have been informed of your Excellency's order to Gen. Heath to march towards the grand army on the banks of the Delaware with the troops under his command, excepting only about twelve hundred of the eastern militia. On this occasion we beg leave to lay before your Excellency the true situation of this State. It formerly consisted of fourteen counties of which five and a part of the sixth are in possession of the enemy. And a considerable part of the inhabitants of the counties of Gloucester, Cumberland, and Charlotte appear determined to shake off their dependance upon us, so that above one half is lost. Of the remainder a considerable proportion is disaffected and ready upon a favorable opportunity to join the enemy.

We lately applied to Gen^l Schuyler for some of the northern troops to defend the passes in the Highlands and protect the inhabitants of West Chester, who were notwithstanding Gen. Spenser's and Wooster's troops cruelly harrassed by seven hundred Rangers under the command of Col^o Rogers. He then informed us that no

troops could be spared from that quarter and advised us by no means to call off any of the militia of our northern counties, as he conceived it to be extremely probable that the enemy would attack Ticonderoga this winter as soon as the frost had rendered the lakes passable.

Your Excellency well remembers that we are to raise three thousand seven hundred and fifty men for the continental service. The amount of the fighting men in that part of the State yet belonging to us is not more than fifteen thousand. Wherefore after deducting our continental proportion there will not remain above eleven thousand, of which one half at least lying to the northward, the remainder is not at furthest above five thousand five hundred men, many of which are disaffected and others poor and in such a situation that if called away as militia their families must perish for want of bread, fuel, &c^a. Add to this that in the next campaign a great part of the wheat to supply the continental army must come from this State. It is all now in the sheaf and must be threshed and brought to market during the continuance of the snows. Under all these disadvantages we have ordered the raising one thousand men to defend the passes in the Highlands, of which we do not expect that upwards of eight hundred can take the field, while the defence of those passes requires at least four thousand.

Of the eastern militia which hath been so long expected only two regiments have yet arrived. Gen. Howe, we have been informed, hath above five thousand troops in New York, which together with the garrison of Fort Washington, Rogers's Rangers, and such troops as might perhaps be collected from Jersey, will make no inconsiderable army. On the other hand, if a considerable body of men under an active commander are posted in West Chester the enemy will not venture to leave New York without a strong garrison, or if they do then it may easily be taken from them.

We are well informed that the British army in New Jersey are cantoned out in small parties, at Borden Town, Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Hackensack, and of consequence may be easily attacked at some or other of these places. We are happy to add to these observations that we congratulate your Excellency on the advantage you have taken of this dispersed situation. And on the whole we must submit to your Excellency whether it will be proper to call off all the troops to the southward and by that means expose the barracks, stores, cannon, &c^a in this State, together with all the interior country against which, as we are informed from different quarters, an attack is now meditated by the enemy.

I have the honor to be &c^a

His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON.

(Copy.)

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PEEKS-KILL, Jan^{ry} 2nd, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — The day before yesterday I received the honor of yours of the 27th Dec^r, and most heartily congratulate your Excellency on your signal victory over the enemy at Trenton. This will be productive of the best consequences, and has already given new life to our affairs.

The last night I had the honor of yours of the 28th containing the agreeable news of the retreat of Count Donnop. I am extremely sorry to acquaint your Excellency that none of the militia from Massachusetts Bay have arrived, except Col^o Sparhawk's regiment, consisting of about 500 men, three companies of which I have been obliged to send to the forts on the river and one to Croten Bridge, so that only five companies out of the

nine are at this post on whom we must now depend for guards and defence. I have prevailed upon a few of the old regiments to stay ten days longer, the rest are gone home notwithstanding the most pressing perswasions.

I am informed that more of the militia are on their march on this side of Danbury for this place. I have sent an express this morning in addition to several sent before to quicken their march. As the State of New York are drawing in their militia, and your Excellency thinks that there is not the least danger of the enemy's making a move towards this place, I shall exert my utmost endeavours to push the militia, and as soon as I can collect 1,500 of them will march as rapidly as possible. I imagine your Excellency will not think a less number sufficient to answer much purpose.

By the return of the flag which carried down Mr Inglis's family I am informed that General How is in the city preparing his dispatches for Great Britain, with so much application that he attends to little other business.

The 156,750 dollars which your Excellency was pleased to order to this place is not much more than half sufficient for the present emergencies. The seven regiments of Gen^l Wadsworth's brigade to which five months' pay is due amounts to more than 16,000 dollars. Besides these there are five regiments of General Parsons's brigade, five of General Geo. Clinton's and one of Gen^l James Clinton's, with some one, others two, three, and four months' pay due; add to this the pressing demands for the recruiting service. This must be speedily attended to or the service will be greatly injured. In ordering the paying of the money already sent I have endeavour'd to do equal justice to all the regiments. The Deputy Paymaster pro-tempore has wrote to Col^o Palfrey on the subject.

The Convention of the State of New York have requested the loan of a number of small arms for some of

their unarmed militia intended for their expedition ; with reluctance I have spared them about sixty to be return'd when called for. The Committee alledged that the last spring the State had furnished many arms for the army, and that now without this assistance they could not attempt their design with a prospect of success. The Committee have engaged to be accountable for them.

I shall do all in my power to answer your Excellency's expectation, and nothing but the delay of the militia will prevent it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PEEKS-KILL, Jan^{ry} 4th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that Major General Lincoln has just arrived at this post. But his troops have not as yet got in, except about two regiments.

That no time should be lost I have been sending over a quantity of provisions to Haverstraw and as soon as the militia arrive in sufficient numbers shall pass over with them. A body of the militia belonging to this State have rendezvous^d at North Castle, and Colo. Thomas's regiment below White Plains. A number of the disaffected have been taken, and the night before last 37 recruits who were going to joyn Rogers. They were all armed with pistols, and had two muskets in the company ; about 300 it is said are engaged with the enemy and are to march down from the upper part of Dutches County in small parties, lying concealed in the daytime. We

have found out some of their stages on the roads and have a number of parties out to intercept them. We have just taken one Strang, with his warrent from Rogers to enlist men, secreted in the inside of his breeches, we also suppose him to be a spy. I have ordered a general court martial to sit this day for his tryal. I learn from some deserters that Rogers is alarmed at our motions on this side which are making towards him, and am this moment told that they have drawn in all their parties that were without Fort Independence, and it is said have remov^d their cannon from y^e fort. The expedition to that quarter which has been long meditating by the Convention is now in a fair way to be attempted. This is to secure Rogers, and collect forrage. Upon the request of the Committee I have ordered General Parsons to take the command, and we are determined to keep the enemy within narrow limits.

I have lately been informed that your Excellency is impowered to raise 12 new regiments and to appoint the officers. I beg leave to recommend to your Excellency's notice Colonel W^m Malcom, late commander of one of the New York battallion, whose conduct I have observed to be such as I think makes it my duty to recommend him.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Some doubts have arisen here with respect to the arms that are lost or missing ; there are a number, ought those to be paid for ? The question arises what sum is to be stoped for them, and where is it to be stoped, in the hands of the deputy paymaster or with the paymaster of the reg^t. I should be happy to know your Excellency's opinion and direction in this matter, and as soon as agreeable to your Excellency.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JAMES LIVINGSTON.*

PEEKS-KILL, Jan^y 4th, 1777.

SIR, — I have just received your favor of the 2nd inst inclosing a Resolution of the Honorable Convention of the State of New York. This fresh instance of concern discovered by the Convention for the security of this post, I consider as flowing from an ardent zeal for the public safety, which I think much depends on the securing the passes in the Highlands. And you will please to acquaint them that I am so much impressed with their importance, that I was determined not to leave them unguarded. I shall not take with me into the Jerseys more cannon than what may appear absolutely necessary.

Your Committee presented to me on yesterday the Resolves of the Hon^{ble} Convention of the first of Jan^y, requesting that I would defer my march until an answer could be obtained to a letter which had been sent to His Excellency General Washington, or some effectual means provided for the passes of the Highlands.

I have assured them that I shall not move until a sufficient force is collected and left here.

General Lincoln is this moment arrived.

I am, Sir, with respect, your most hum^{bl} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

JAMES LIVINGSTON, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.†

PEEKS-KILL, Jan^y 4th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — The last evening I received your favor of yesterday's date, and am sorry to find that you should construe my letter as if I was afraid to venture the

* For a notice of Col. James Livingston, at the time this letter was written chairman of the Committee of Safety of New York, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 8 n.

† For a notice of George Clinton, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 157 n. — Eds.

cannon with the militia. The state of the case was this — not only the men belonging to the regiments, but also to the artillery were going home, save a few artillerymen that I prevailed upon to continue ten days to take care of the cannon, untill I could hear from the General. Nither had we at this post more than 300 men to do duty. The cannon would have required at least 100 of them as a guard. Had I given this as a reason that our artillery men were gone and that we had not men to spare even to guard the cannon to your post, it would undoubtedly have greatly dispirited your troops. I therefore thought the answer which I gave would tend to keep them in spirit and at the same time conceal our weakness, which I expected every moment to be strengthened.

General Lincoln is just arrived, and I have prevailed upon a few artillery men to go over into the Jerseys. I shall therefore send over this day or tomorrow morning two peices of cannon with a guard, and I would request that you would send a small party of your horse on to meet and conduct them. Captain Briant had not yesterday got his men, having lent part of them to Lieut. Jackson. When they get over you will act your own discretion as to dislodgeing the enemy. But I think if it appears doubtfull that you had better defer it untill you are reinforced, which I hope will be in a few days. However, as you best know circumstances you can best determine.

I am sorry that your troops should suffer any inconveniences on account of provisions; a line for any species or quantities should have been sent immediately. I hope soon to be over with you, untill when I wish you success and happiness.

I am, dear Sir, with respect, your most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gen^l GEO. CLINTON.

GOLD SELLECK SILLIMAN* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FAIRFIELD, Jan^y 8th, 1777.

S^R, — General Wadsworth on his return from Peekskill acquainted me that the pay-master had not mony by him to pay more than about one third part of the wages due to the regiments in his brigade, of which number my regiment is one; but that you had sent an express to General Washington for mony sufficient to pay the brigade in full, and advised me not to wait on you upon that subject untill I could be advised that the mony was arrived. I have therefore now to ask the favour of your Honour to acquaint in a line by the return of the post whether the mony is arrived to pay the brigade; if it is I shall wait on you immediately to ask the favour of an order to receive it. My regiment have not received a single penny of their wages for the whole campaign; they are in extreme want of it, and I suppose that the sooner they receive their wages the better will the recruiting service for the new army succeed, which at present does not go on with that vigour which I could wish. My son is extremely desirous of going into the service, and wishes to do it under your Honour's immediate inspection; he presents his most respectfull compliments to your Honour and begs to know whether you will be so kind as to employ him in some character under your own immediate inspection, which he will be very happy to obtain. I am, Sir, with my most respectfull compliments to your Honour,

Your most obedient and most hum^e serv^t.

G. SELLECK SILLIMAN.

Hon^l Gen^l HEATH.

* For a notice of General Silliman, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 98 n. — Eds.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PEEKS-KILL, Jan^{ry} 10th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — In your Excellency's letter of the 7th instant you are pleased to leave the settlement of the arms that have been lost to me, observing that justice should be done to the publick and to individuals. I have been endeavouring to settle with some of the regiments, but I find the matter so embarrassed that I cannot compleat it without again applying to your Excellency for direction.

Some regiments, in particular Prescott's, have sixty or seventy arms lost, some private and others publick property. The officers alledge that when they left Governor's Island they had many sick, that some arms were left on the island, that others were brought over to the city, and that at the time of the retreat, waggons could not be obtained to bring them off and that they lost even their own clothing; others were at the armourers' shops, and either brought away in a hurry and mixed with others, or left behind. Such as were private property they request payment for, such as belonged to the publick and were so lost they construe unavoidably lost. As there were a great many arms lost by different regiments in the before mentioned retreats under similar circumstances, I would beg your Excellency's particular direction, as it is a matter of very considerable importance and all should be treated alike. I have ordered a stoppage for the publick arms which have been lost in the before mentioned instances untill I am directed further.

I cannot but mention to your Excellency the state of the recruiting service, an object on the success of which our future hopes of advantage against the enemy must

* Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 37, 38. — Eds.

under Heaven be principally built. We are now arrived to the 10th of January, and but few recruits comparatively raised (except in this State, where the regiments are in great forwardness) principally owing to the immediate clothing of their troops. There are here a number of recruits belonging to the State of Massachusetts Bay. They are almost naked, and so infected with the itch as to be unfit for service. Their officers are importuning of me that the men may return home, cleanse and recruit themselves; this I am confident would promote the service as it respects these individuals. But I find that they have grown uneasy on account of those belonging to Connecticut being gone home, and should I grant their request the uneasiness would spread among those who are with your Excellency. I have not as yet furloughed one private, but wish to know your Excellency's pleasure on this matter. There are a number of officers here who have engaged in the new army, and as they have but little prospect of recruiting at this place I have sent a number of them to New England.

Major Huntington, who is acting at this post as an assistant to the Adjutant General, and is well known at Head Quarters, is a gentleman of family, of fortune, and posse[sse]d of those qualifications requisite in an officer, I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's notice.

My next will be dated at some other place. Rogers's men are deserting daily. I think that if a proclamation of pardon was issued, offering a pardon to those who return to their duty and allegiance to the States, great numbers of them would come off, they most certainly grow much discontented. A few days since twenty or thirty sail of large ships sailed up the East River towards N. England. I have ordered that such men as are in captivity should be made up only to the time of their being taken.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most humble s^t.

EBENEZER HAZARD * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

*To the Honorable Major General Heath. Kings Bridge.*FAIRFIELD, Jan^y 23^d, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — Last evening I had the pleasure of seeing Major Huntingdon, from whom I learned that a Deputy Pay Master General was to be appointed for your division, and that Col. Palfrey had been pleased to recommend me for that purpose. It gave me great satisfaction to find my friends did not forget me, and I would with pleasure accept the office were I not under prior engagements to the Continent in a department of a different nature from and incompatible with the office of pay master. I have now the surveyorship of the Post Office, which requires me to visit the different parts of the Continent; and am on my way to Falmouth in Casco Bay in the execution of the duties of it. You see, therefore, my dear Sir, the necessity I am under of declining the offer of the pay master's office; but I doubt not you may easily procure a faithful person to undertake it: were I certain that Nicholas Fish, Esq^r, Brigade Major to General Scott, was sufficiently acquainted with accounts, I would confidently recommend him in the strongest terms; for in other respects he is well qualified, and for aught I know may be in this: it will be easy to make the enquiry, and if he is, I know not a young gentleman any where into whose hands I would so soon commit an office of such consequence.

I am, dear General, y^r most obed^t hum^l serv^t.

EBEN. HAZARD.

* Ebenezer Hazard was born in Philadelphia Jan. 15, 1744, and graduated at Princeton College in 1762. Removing to New York, he engaged in business, and was for several years a publisher and bookseller. On the rupture with the mother country he was appointed postmaster of New York, and afterward surveyor of the post roads and offices throughout the United States. His connection with the post-office lasted down to the organization of the general government under the Constitution, a period of fourteen years. He then returned to Philadelphia, and resumed a business career, but also took an active part in public affairs. He died in Philadelphia June 13, 1817. Two volumes of his correspondence with Jeremy Belknap, founder of the Historical Society, were published by this Society in 1877. — EDS.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMS'S TAVERN, Jan'y 24th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have received the honor of yours of the 19th instant. In my last I informed your Excellency of our arrival in the neighbourhood of Fort Independence, and of our taking a number of arms. Instead of 15 at one place we took upwards of 40, and about as many blankets. I also mentioned in my last our intention of attacking the Hessians at the bridge the next day; every preparation was made and the troops ready for the attack, but a sudden change of the weather had so soften'd the ice, which was very weak before, as prevented our crossing the creek.

Yesterday afternoon we had a skirmish with a party which sallied from the fort; we had one ensign and one private kill'd and five wounded. It is supposed that we killed a number of the enemy, but as it was close to the fort we cannot tell how many. The enemy cannonaded briskly, but fortunately did us no harm. We have from the first morning of our arrival kept possession of the two works between the fort and Volintine's, which are almost within point blank shot of the fort. We are carrying off the forage, of which there are large quantities in this vicinity. At the expence of 100 dollars I sent a trusty intelligent man into the city three days ago. He returned on yesterday with the following intelligence; viz^t, 100 men are posted at Harlem; they are of the 23rd 44th and 64 reg^{ts}; that Gen^l Agnaw's brigade lie between Fort Washington and the city, about 1,000 strong, and every third day send 130 men to Kingsbridge; that there are about two regiments of troops in the city; that a few recruits (short of 100) have lately arrived from

Europe ; that the Tories are very uneasy and wish their goods out of the city ; that they apprehend we shall attempt to pass over Harlem River ; General Kniphausen commands at Fort Washington, and has five battalions with him ; that a fire broke out a night or two ago in the city which consumed several houses ; that the inhabitants and soldiers are much dejected ; that upon the appearance of our troops at Morrisania the enemy's guard on Montrose's Island were struck with a panic, set fire to the house and barn and fled to New York, where three of them were put under guard ; that General How and Agnew rode to Kingsbridge the day before he left the city ; that Lord Percy was to land on our backs ; that provisions were scarce and dear, firewood more so, five pounds p^r cord and scarcely obtainable ; that they were pulling down the wooden houses to burn ; that hay was 14/ 8^d hundred, their horses very poor and many of them dead, &c.

This day we have had a severe storm which has so raised Brunks's River that it is impassable by Williams's, the water running over the top of the bridge. We shall pay strict attention to your Excellency's directions in your last letter, but the river is so full of ice that it is difficult for boats to move at present ; and it has been impossible as yet to get them down from King's Ferry. I rather think that it may be done soon. I am yet in hopes of giving the enemy a blow here, if an opportunity should offer. If the troops should be removed from this side the river, except what may be thought necessary for the security of the forts and passes in the Highlands, I beg your Excellency's permission to ride to New England, for a short time. If it can be granted, consistent with the good of the service, as my own interest will be extremely injured if I do not between this and spring, having been constantly in the army ever since the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. However, I submit the

matter to your Excellency's determination, and have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.*

GENTLEMEN, — A considerable number of recruits enlisted into the 15 battalions raising by the State of Massachusetts Bay for Continental service, and destined to Tyconderoga, are rendezvous'd and rendezvousing in different towns in the State, and several regiments in the vicinity of the metropolis, the deficiency of arms and blankets (to say nothing of clothing) prevents their marching to a post where their imediate presence is absolutely necessary, as from its situation and present circumstances it may be said to be in too hazardous a condition.

The moment any regiment or detachment is equiped I shall order them to march without the least delay; and in order to prevent any complaints or delays on account of subsistance on the march I have ordered stores to be opened on the road and the men to draw provisions, which I think will benefit both the publick and soldiery. It is with the deepest concern that I see the soldiery, who are rendezvousing in this neighbourhood and waiting

* General Heath, having received permission to visit New England, in accordance with his request, left Peek's Kill February 12, 1777, and reached his home in Roxbury on the 19th. He started on his return to the camp March 14, "but before he had got to Watertown, an express overtook him with orders from Gen. Washington for him to take command of the Eastern Department; Gen. Ward having applied for leave to resign the command, meaning to retire from the service." Ward resigned March 20, and was succeeded by Heath, who retained the command until November 4, 1778, when General Gates took it. April 2, 1779, Gates went to Rhode Island, and the command at Boston again devolved on Heath, who held it for about two months, when he was ordered to join the main army. He left Boston June 11, and on the 23d "took the command of the troops on the east side of the Hudon, having in front all the outposts towards New York, on that side of the river." See Heath's Memoirs, pp. 115, 116, 197, 203, 205. — Eds.

for their equipments, spending their time and money in practises which tend to enervate and unfit them for the important business to which they are called by the publick, when they should be constantly employed, if not on their march, in those exercises without the knowledge of which men never can be soldiers. With respect to arms I flatter myself that the request of the Hon^{ble} Board to his Excellency the General for a part of those lately arrived will be granted. Blankets are equally necessary, and I should be much obliged to the Hon^{ble} Board for information whether any considerable numbers may be soon expected, either from the towns or otherwise. If there should be no prospect of a speedy supply to prevent the mispence of the time and money of the soldiery, if the barracks at Castle-Island or Noddle's Island are so warm as that the men can be comfortable in them without blankets, I should think they had better some of them be ordered there. But this I fear will be attended with some ill consequences to the service. I would also just observe that the time to which Colonel Dike's Regiment, (who now garrison the forts on Dorchester Heights and that on Fort Hill in this town, in each of which are ordnance and stores of considerable vallue) is engaged, expires in a few days. I must therefore request that a sufficient number of men, either from the militia or in such other way as the Board may think most expedient, may be seasonably destined to those posts.

I shall endeavour to trouble the Hon^{ble} Board as little as possible with the business of my own department, and I shall think myself happy if I can in any instance contribute to the interest of this my native State, for which I have the warmest affection.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Honors' obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, March 25th 1777.

Hon^{ble} Council of the State of M. B.

ANTHONY WAYNE* TO THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

TICONDEROGA, 25th March, 1777.

GENTLEMEN, — A party of Cochnawaga Indians under the command of Cap^t M^cCoy of the British forces have killed several of our people and taken Cap^t Baldwin with twenty one men prisoners at a place called Sabbath-day-point, on the 20th instant, by which means the enemy, who are now all collected at Montreal, Chamella, S^t John's and their vicinity, will be but too soon informed of the debilitated state of this garrison, which at present does not consist of more than twelve hundred men, sick and well, *officers included*, four hundred of which are militia from Berkshire and Hampshire in your State, whose time expires in ten days, *but this in confidence*.

It's the opinion of those who are best acquainted with the Lake Champlain, that it will be navigable in the course of two or three weeks at farthest, so that we have every reason to expect the enemy here in full force as soon as that happens, being ready prepared for the purpose.

It is my duty therefore to request you in the most pressing manner to use every possible means in pushing on the troops properly equipt; near one half of those who have arrived are destitute of arms and accoutrements, and sent on without any officers except a few subalterns. For God's sake rouse your field and other officers from their lethargy. It's their duty to be on the spot, in order

* Gen. Anthony Wayne was born in Easttown, Penn., Jan. 1, 1745, and died in Presque Isle, Penn., Dec. 15, 1796. He received his first commission in the army in January, 1776, and served with distinction during the war. On the conclusion of peace he withdrew to civil life, and for a time lived in Georgia, but in 1792 he was recalled to military service, and afterward conducted a successful expedition against the Western Indians. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. pp. 398-400; Sparks's American Biography, vol. iv. pp. 3-84. — Eds.

to manœuvre their people, and to give them some idea of discipline, previous to their entering into action.

I would beg leave to suggest that the most speedy way of forwarding the baggage and other necessities, *thro these bad roads*, will be by pack horses. You can't use too much dispatch; there is not one moment to spare. I am confident that you have too just a sense of the importance of this place to suffer it to be lost for want of timely succours, when in your power to throw them in. I shall therefore say no more on the subject than just to assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to render the post tenable, and to defend it to the last extremity.

Capt^t Rayman, a gentleman well acquainted with the lake, and a worthy officer, who is charged with this express, will be able to give you such information as you may require.

I'm, Gen^{tn}, with the utmost respect,

Your most obedient and very hum^{bl} serv^t.

ANT^x WAYNE, Col.

P. S. Just as Cap^t Reyman was setting off he was taken extremely ill. Lt M^cClure is therefore charged with the express. He is an active, hearty officer.

Hon^{ble} President and Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

A true Copy. Attest. JN^o AVERY, Dep^y Sec^y.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, March 28th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yesterday I received the honor of yours of the 13th instant, and immediately directed my orders accordingly.

Brigadiers General Nixon and Glover with Colonels Greateon, Sheppard, Nixon, Putnam, Wigglesworth, Alding,

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 43, 49. — EDS.

Bigelow, and late Patterson's regiments I have ordered to Peek's-Kill — Brigadier General Patterson, with Colonels Marshall, Brewer, Bradford, Frances, Bailey, Wesson, and Jackson's regiments to Tyconderoga. Such as are armed and equipt in those regiments destined to Peek's-Kill I have ordered to march immediately to that place, and their clothing to be sent on, as Mr Livingston informs me it cannot be got ready here soon. Such men as are not armed and equipt I shall order under inoculation agreeable to your Excellency's orders. I much honor your Exy^s opinion of the importance of having a respectable body of troops at Peek's-Kill, as they will be well situated to answer those purposes you are pleased to mention, should occasion require it. But if your Excellency's intelligence (that the enemy mean to draw a part of their force from Canada by water) be true, is there not some probability that they will attempt a landing some where more eastward than their main army is at present. Monsieur Marmadale, who came to town the day before yesterday from Providence, informs me that the enemy (by the accounts of deserters) have received a reinforcement at Rhode Island, and that their whole force is upwards of 4,000 men ; how much credit is due to the reports of deserters your Excellency can well determine.

As to the harbour of Boston, altho it has already several good works, is far from being in such a condition as I think it ought to be ; a very considerable work should be immediately constructed on Governor's Island (so called) which has great command of the channel and also of the castle.

The French Brigadier General D^e Borre is here waiting for orders from Congress or your Excellency, as are a number of the officers of Colonel Faneuil's intended regiment. They begin to grow uneasy. They yesterday informed me that they had spent a considerable sum of money, that they were here on expence, that it was

uncertain whether they should be established or not, that they had not heard from their Colonel for some time, that several vessells were soon to sail for France, and that if nothing was in prospect for them they would return. I have advised them to wait a few days in which time it was highly probable they would have some intelligence from their Colonel.

The General has also applied for money ; he has, as your Excellency will observe, in his agreement with Mr Deane received five or six months pay. He considers that sum as a gratification to furnish him for his voyage and not as his pay ; his wants are many. I beg your Excellency's direction as soon as agreeable. I know policy leads us to do much for them, but how far I am to go I am at loss. I have been obliged upon his pressing application to give him an order for four hundred dollars as advance pay.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most hble. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, April 9th, 1777.

DEAR GEN^L, — Yesterday I received p^r Col^o Johonot the honor of yours of the 29th ultimo and observe your Excellency's pressing and positive orders for hastning the troops. This I have been doing with unremitted assiduity, and the moment a detachment is equipped I order them to march. There are now on the march to Peek-Kill a detachment of Col^o Greateon's regiment, upwards of one hundred fine fellows well armed, &c ; they

* Washington's answer, dated April 19, is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 49, 50. — EDS.

marched the last Fryday ; a detachment from Col^o Nixon's who marched about the same time ; a detachment from Col^o Sheppard's marched on Monday ; a detachment from late Patterson's this morning ; and a detachment from Col^o Wigglesworth's and Col^o Putnam's will march in a day or two ; a detachment from Col^o Bailey's (200) and about the same number from Col^o Wesson's will march to morrow or next day for Tyconderoga ; and a detachment from Col^o Jackson's about the same time. Marshall's, Brewer's, Bradford's, and Frances's regiments have been marching for some time to Tyconderoga, and since my last I have sent on the field officers of those regiments. I intend to send on all the men that I can possibly arm and equipp by the next Thursday or Fryday, whether they have had the small pox or not ; after that I shall continue the same mode of conduct with those destined to Tyconderoga ; and to Peeks-Kill such only as have had it, and inoculate those who have not, sending them after as soon as they are able to endure the fatigues of the march. General Nixon is now under inoculation. The State troops do at present furnish me with guards for the stores, so that I shall not detain a man, saving for the guards at the hospitals.

As to the number of men enlisted it is at present impossible to ascertain them, as the recruiting officers are scattered in every part of the State. The last return from the muster masters was 3,824 ; but such returns as I have received are much larger. I have not the whole. I believe 6,000 men at least are enlisted. The recruiting service is now pretty successfull, but Colonels Henly, Jackson, and Lee labor under discouragements, the State at present declining to do any thing for their regiments, least it should retard the filling of the 15 (as they say). Colonel Crane's has obtained every encouragement and fills fast.

A day or two agoe the powder made in and belonging

to this State was upon proof found to be bad. The Continental frigates which were to have been supplied with it are like to be detained, at a time when they ought to be at sea. The Hon. M^r Cushing applied to the Council to solicit of M^r Langdon a sufficient quantity for them and desired me to joyn with them. I therefore recommended it, if consistant with M^r Langdon's instructions, and hope it will meet your Excellency's approbation. I would also earnestly solicit that a quantity of that powder may be deposited in this State, as there can be no dependence on that made here, and all belonging to the Continent at this place having been sent on to Springfield by order of Gen^l Knox in order to its being fixed in the Labratory.

Col^o Putnam has just informed me that he saw in a Connecticut paper not long since that the grants of lands from the Continent to the soldiery was to extend to those who inlist for three years as well as others; should that be the case I should be glad to be ascertained of it.

I think it my duty to observe to your Excellency that the pay of the regimental surgeons is so low that few if any gentlemen of proper abilities will engage in the service.

Your Excellency will doubtless have heard ere this reaches you that the Brig^r Cabot has been drove on shore by the Milford frigate, and lost.

I shall obey your Excellency's orders with respect to paying the artificers at Springfield, and the 10,000 dollars to M^r Jarvis. But the chest will want a supply. The Commissary received from General Ward out of the last monies sent here about 70,000 dollars. I have been obliged to supply him with 20,000 more. The bounty money, subsistance, and marching of the troops causes large and daily demands from the different departments.

I am this moment informed by M^r Sec^y Avery that a brig is arrived at Nantucket from Nantz (with fishing gear) the cap^t reports that the brig that carried home

Doct^r Franklin in cruising off Nantz had taken 5 prizes, one of which was the Lisbon Packet.

I shall endeavour to give your Excellency every intelligence in my power that may occur worthy of notice.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. HEATH.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

LIBERTIES OF CONCORD GOAL, 13th April, 1777.

SIR, — The officers and men of the 71st Regiment who are prisoners of war in this Province being ordered to Bristol for the purpose of an exchange, and without even an exception to my particular servants, notwithstanding I am detained by order of the Hon^{ble} Congress, I have to request as a singular favour you would do me the honor to support an application I have lately made to the Hon^{ble} Council at Boston that my clerk, cook, groom, and two body servants be permitted to attend me in my captivity.

Having rented a house at Reading since my first arrival in this country, and at a considerable expence equipped it with such necessary articles as might enable me to live comfortably as a prisoner of war, and where for eight months I resided on my parole of honor, without even the most scrupulous violation of it, I would hope, when the other officers of the 71st have marched from that quarter, which I understand will be next Tuesday, I may again with my servants be indulged with leave to

* Sir Archibald Campbell was born at Inverneil, Scotland, Aug. 21, 1739, entered the army at an early age, and was wounded at the taking of Quebec in 1759. He afterward served in India, and in 1774 was elected to Parliament. In the following year he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of Highlanders, but did not reach America until after the evacuation of Boston by the British forces, when he was taken a prisoner of war. In 1777 he was exchanged for Ethan Allen; and he afterward served with great distinction in Georgia, as governor of Jamaica, and as governor and commander-in-chief at Madras. He died in London March 31, 1791, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to him. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. viii. pp. 342, 343. — Eds.

retire to the same abode (should it even be under a guard) till such time as Gen^l Howe and Gen^l Washington shall settle the proper terms of an exchange. Excepting one servant here with me, all the others are now at Reading, having in charge the greatest part of my linnen, cloaths, and all my houshold and kitchen necessaries. As those servants are to march on Wednesday or Thursday next, you may very readily conceive the disagreeable situation to which I am now exposed under the operation of such circumstances. But, Sir, I commit the matter to your own reflexions, and trust that as my only crime is that of being a prisoner of war, without even the insinuation of any other personal charge which can reflect discredit to a gentleman, I may be indulged in my captivity with what may render the state of a prisoner less irksome.

At present I am only allowed the space of 50 yards to walk in, and as my confinement is at a tavern on the publick road I am unavoidably exposed to tumultuous noise, and the unmerited insults of the lower class of passengers, to which I would hope a prisoner of war ought to be exempted.

Having thus stated my situation, it would render me an act of kindness, in case you should think my request reasonable, to have the Hon^{ble} Council's order for stopping the march of my servants immediately dispatched to Reading by an express, the expence of which I shall discharge with cheerful thanks.

It is by no means a disposition of mine, no more than it is my right, to load an officer in your station with unnecessary trouble; but circumstanced as I am, it is mere necessity which compels an application to the 1st military officer at Boston for that justice and that generous, reasonable indulgence to which his own feelings under the like circumstances may naturally suggest a propriety and to which a prisoner of war has some claim to expect, so long as his conduct is unexceptionable.

I shall only add, Sir, that whatever acts of civility you are pleased to shew me in this respect shall at all times be acknowledged with every proper sentiment by him who has the honor to remain, with all due respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

ARCH^d CAMPBELL,

Lieut' Colo^l 71st Reg^t.

List of servants' names:

Clerk — John Wilson.

Cook — Arch^d Silver, wife and 2 children.

Groom — Dav^d Johnston.

Body Serv^{ts} — Will^m Boyd and Peter Ferguson.

The Hon^{ble} Gen^l HEATH Commanding at Boston.

JOSEPH SPENCER* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PROVIDENCE, 14th April, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — The comfort and happiness of mankind always creates pleasure in the breasts of the friendly, so I have to congratulate you upon your now possessing a station so much more agreeable than the western country has been.

Should myself be in a much more agreeable situation were the New England States so attentive to that part of the enemy now posted in this State as to furnish me with a force equal to theirs, which at the present I am much destitute of, and indeed have been most of the winter; suppose that an expectation that the enemy would make no attack here, and would depart in the spring has been the cause of the neglect; but that may prove to be a mistaken opinion, as by very late accounts from the island the number of the enemy appears to be about 4,000, and they not about to remove, as none embarked

* For a notice of Gen. Joseph Spencer, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 38 n. — Eds.

the last week on board the fleet which left New Port harbour, excepting a few late promoted officers, and some small part of the artillery. The officers on the island are making their gardens, and seem to be determined to keep that possession, so that I think there is no reason to suppose that they have any thoughts of abandoning the island.

I have had no pay-master here since my arrival, consequently am put to much trouble on that account, am informed that you have one at Boston, and suppose that probably his duty extends to this department; should be very glad to know of that matter as soon as may be. I want also to know sundry matters relative to the pay of several officers in the army; I observe in a late publication by the Pay Master Gen^l the pay of battalion officers as now stated and advanced by Congress; and at the conclusion a general stroke to this effect "all other officers, &c., as last year." This introduces the question, what is the pay of aids de camp and brigade majors? (as well as some others?) I think it an absurdity to suppose that the pay of either of those should be beneath captains and adjutants; but according to a literal construction of that advertisement it seems that it is so; if you are possessed of any list or state of pay for staff officers, aids de camp, continental clerks, &c., store keepers, tool keepers, grooms, &c., I should be very glad of a copy, that I may be able thereby to answer many questions of that kind frequently arising. I also want to know what is the pay of a chief commander in a separate department; whether you have authority to draw orders for the payment of continental officers, and whether if a few bills should be presented, your paymaster is possess^d of cash to discharge them. I have not as yet rec^d a shilling of continental pay; nor been able to obtain information of the above mentioned matters, tho' I have taken much pains to obtain it heretofore.

I should have informed you before that there is not now a single man in service here from the States of Massachusetts Bay or New Hampshire, and from Connecticut only about four hundred and twenty.

I am, with esteem, Sir,

Your most obed^t hum^l servant.

Gen^l HEATH.

JO : SPENCER.

ISRAEL KEITH * TO ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 14th, 1777.

SIR,—I am directed by General Heath to acquaint you that he has receiv'd yours of the 13th instant. He thinks your request very reasonable, and has sent to the Council to back it. What the success will be he cannot tell. The General also thinks that as numbers of American prisoners have been long confined in New York, it would be but just that a number equal to that of your servants should be set at liberty, if it were only on parole.

I am, Sir, your humb^{le} serv^t.

IS^t KEITH, *A. D. C.*

Col. CAMPBELL.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SIR,—I was honored with the communication of your obliging intentions in support of my request of the 13th instant, for which I beg the acceptance of my best acknowledgements. Reasonable as that request had appeared to you, Sir, I am sorry to find a concurrence to it from the Hon^{ble} Board has at present been refused. However, I still trust when the other officers of the 71st Reg^t are removed from Reading I may by your kind inter-

* For a brief mention of Israel Keith, see *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution*, vol. ix p. 34. — Eds.

position experience the moderate limits of my wish; to which I think I have some degree of claim in recompence for the late unmerited sufferings I have experienced in this Province as a prisoner of war.

On the score of my servants, you may rest satisfied that an equal number of the Americans will certainly be enlarged, to compensate for the indulgence the Hon^{ble} Board may grant me in this respect; and to render that matter more certain in its operation, I have inclosed a letter for the Commissary at Rhode Island, which I hope will fully answer that purpose.

I have the honor to be, with all due respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

ARCH^d CAMPBELL,
Lieut Colo^l 71st Reg^t.

LIBERTIES OF CONCORD GOAL, the 17th April, 1777.

The Hon^{ble} Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOSEPH SPENCER.

Boston, April 17th. 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have just received your kind favor of the 14th instant, and heartily thank you for any friendly congratulations, and congratulate you, Sir, on the aid which this State is sending to you. The Independent Company marched the 15th. 2,000 militia are also order'd to reinforce you. I must confess that notwithstanding the contrary opinion of many I think the enemy will not as yet leave Rhode-Island.

I am sorry to hear that you have suffered on account of not having a paymaster. I was writing to his Excell^y when I received your letter, and have desired his direction as to paying the officers of your department, &c.

I am at loss as to the pay of aids de camp, brigade majors, &c, it has been a subject disputed and as yet not

fully determined here. Should the General write me that you are to be paid here, I have money in the office, and it will give me pleasure to serve you.

As to the pay of a commanding officer of a department the Resolves of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress stand as follows, viz^t. "That the pay of each of the Major Generals be one hundred and sixty six dollars p month." "That when any of these act in a separte department he be allowed^t for his pay and expences three hundred and thirty two dollars p month." As soon as I receive an answer from his Excellency I will advertise you of it.

I am, d^r Sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your ob^t serv^t.

Gen^l SPENCER.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Boston, April 23rd, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—I most heartily congratulate your Excellency on the safe arrival of the ship *Amphitrites* at Portsmouth from L'Orient in France, with a most valluable cargo for the United States, manifest of which will be handed to you by M^r Champney the express.

I am pushing off the troops with all possible dispatch to the places of destination; a second detachment from Col^o Crane's battalion of artillery marches to morrow morning to joyn your Excellency, about 60 and fine fellows. We swarm with French officers at this place. Two arrived in the ship on Sunday at this place. They are much superior to any that I have as yet seen; one is an engineer, the other a captain of cavalry; they are gentlemen of education, sense, and genius. The captain has with him two treatises on the discipline and management of the horse, written by himself and much approved by all the generals in the French service. He has letters to Congress, to your Excellency, and to some

private gentlemen, from D^r Franklin and M^r Dean, who have wrote to have the officers forwarded wherever they may arrive, which will be done as soon as possible.

I think the cannon and stores lately arrived should be immediately moved forward to some place more centerical to the seat of war than the State of New Hampshire. Two frigates are cruizing in our bay. Ours are talking of put[ting] to sea.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most hbble. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

BOSTON, April 26th, 1777.

SIR, — This will be handed to you by Colonel Conway, lately arrived from France and engaged by M^r Dean to serve in the army of the United States. He is accompanied by two other French officers, viz^t Monsieur Balme and Daumours. I think the three are far superior to any that I have as yet seen. They are gentlemen of education, sense, and genius, and I think will be very servicable. Col^o Conway has received one hundred and fifty dollars, as advance pay, of the Deputy Paymaster General here, in order to enable him to proceed on his journey. I wish some plan may be adopted as a mode of procedure with them, for in fact I scarcely know how to conduct. They inform me that M^r Dean assured them that their expences should be paid to Philadelphia.

I most heartily congratulate you, Sir, on the ample and seasonal arrival of military stores. I think those lately arrived at Portsmouth should be immediately removed much further inland, and I was taking steps to forward them towards Springfield to the Grand Labratory,

but upon sending down, the Hon. Mr Langdon (who appeared well disposed to do every thing in his power) informed me by letter that he was directed to deliver the stores to the order of the Hon. Board of War and Ordnance, and that he must therefore wait their orders.

Several British frigates are cruizing in our bay. I am sorry to say ours have not as yet put to sea. I fear that some of the vessels expected from France will fall into the hands of the enemy.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your most humble ser^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, April 26th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — This will be handed to you by Colonel Conway lately arrived from France and engaged by Mr Dean to enter the service of the United States of America. He is accompanied by two other gentlemen, viz^t, Cap^t Balme and Monsieur Daumours; the three appear to be officers of ability. They inform me that Mr Dean promised them that their expences should be borne to Philadelphia, &c. I must confess I scarcely know what to do with them, and wish direction. I have advanced to Col^o Conway as advance pay 150 dollars to enable him to proceed to Philadelphia, and to Cap^t Lewis Fleury 50 dollars; the latter is engaged as a Captain Engineer. The old General De Borre grows uneasy that he does not hear from Congress or your Excellency, and even talks of returning. I think something should be determined respecting them or the cause may be injured.

I have ordered the 25 cases of arms lately arrived here

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 52, 53. — Eds.

to be sent on to Springfield, as the Hon. Mr Langdon thought himself not at liberty to deliver those at Portsmouth, but to the order of the Board of War, as I mentioned in a former letter.

I think it is highly necessary that not only part of the cannon, but the muskets, flints, powder, tents, and lead ball, the latter of which are of the proper size for the new arms, should be immediately forwarded to Springfield, in order to their being conveyed to the army. I intend tomorrow morning again to send to Mr Langdon to desire, if he still thinks that he cannot deliver the stores to the Commissary but by order of the Board of War, that he would himself send them on and deposit them in some place more safe, and also more convenient to the army. General Wayne has wrote down for sundry stores to be sent on to Tyconderoga, such as nails, cordage, painters' colours, &c, which we shall procure and forward.

The State of Connecticut have determined to fill up their regiments by draughts. The same mode is under consideration here, and a vote passed the Council this day in favor of it; whether it will be concured by the House I cannot tell.

A number of artificers skilled in makeing and repairing gun carriages &c are come over with the cannon, and I think would be very servicable in the Labratory at Springfield.

The Assembly have promoted Lt. Col^o Vose, of late Patterson's regiment, to the command of it; Major Vose of the same reg^t to be Lt. Col^o, and Cap^t Cogswell of Wesson's to the majority. In my next I will forward to your Excellency the best return of the state of the regiments that I can obtain.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Ex^{cy} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

GENTLEMEN, — The advanced season, the present state of our army, the late movements of the enemy, to which we may add the intelligence lately received from Europe of the designs of the British Ministry against the New-England States, all conspire to rouse our attention to exert every nerve to complete the army, and also put the State in the best possible condition of defence. I have for some time viewed with concern the incomplete state of the works in the harbour of Boston, but have refrained from making mention of it, lest the necessary measures for the completion should impede the filling up of the Continental army, to which the first attention ought and must be paid. If effectual measures are adopted for that purpose I presume, Gentlemen, that you will not take it amiss if from the particular connection which I have with this State I should most earnestly recommend to your consideration the putting the harbour in a better state of defence than it is at present, as it may probably be found necessary sooner than we are aware. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that upon looking over the returns I find that upwards of 1,700 men have marched to Tyconderoga, and upwards of 1,100 to Peek's-Kill, and that several detachments march this day; at the same time I am constrained to acquaint your Honors that from the weak state of the troops here, the Paymaster General's Office, the Ordnance Store, Loan Office, &c, have for several nights been destitute of sentinels, that part of Col^o Craft's regiment quartered in town being unable to mount a number sufficient for the whole, and the pressing call for hastening the troops to the field, forbidding my

detention of them for guards, which, however, are absolutely necessary.

I am very respectfully your Honors' obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HEAD Q^{RS}, BOSTON, May 2nd, 1777.

Hon. Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO JOHN LANGDON.*

LEBANON, May 4th, 1777, Sunday.

SIR, — We have to inform you that this State seems now to be the object of the enemy's attention. A body of them consisting of near three thousand, as is said, under General Erskine with Governor Tryon, Brown, &c., suddenly landed at Fairfield on 25th ultimo, and without halting suddenly forced their way to Danbury, about twenty two miles, before it was possible to collect the militia to oppose them, and there burnt and destroyed of continental stores seventeen hundred* barrels pork, 700 bushels wheat, 1,700 ditto corn, rye, &c., 1,600 tents, and a variety of other articles, and then with the greatest speed forced their way back to their shipping, but was considerably harrassed and galled on their return and suffered considerable loss. Our loss by the best acco^{ts} does not exceed 20 killed and 70 or 80 wounded. General Wooster, who behaved with great spirit and bravery, is mortally wounded. By intelligence from prisoners, relenting Tories and friends escaped them, the enemy intend in a verry few days to make a descent at New Haven and New London or Saybrook and join on Connecticut River, where they expect to meet General Carleton. We have from variety of intelligence reason to expect that the enemy intend verry principally to harrass this State, to break up our husbandry by which the army and country have been much supplied with provisions, &c.; by these

* See Governor Langdon's letter to General Heath, *post*, p. 92. — Eds.

means all our sea coasts are kept in great alarm and almost entirely taken from the fields. Besides, are greatly deficient in arms owing in a good measure to the Continental drains of them with our men and their detention. Wee are also in the greatest want of field pieces which are of a vast importance and would have been of inexpressible advantage in the late invasion; the discharge of two or three on the enemy's main body on their return greatly disconcerted and prevented them attacking a party they might otherwise have swallowed up; were we well supply'd it would be far the greatest check we could have on their progress; tents, flints, ball, cloathing and many other articles we greatly want. We earnestly request you would without delay suffer a good quantity of those articles to be immediately brought forward to this State, which will also be in the direct road to General Washington, and may be used as occasion may require in support of the grand cause. In full confidence that you will not doubt of the propriety of such a step, I am sending off a number of teams for the purpose of receiving them and in the mean time would beg you would, if possible, send them forward to meet our teams on the direct road.

Propose also to send before the teams a num. of horses to bring on some of the field pieces, &c., lately arrived at Portsmouth in the ship *Amphatrite*, a manifest of which I've taken from Coll^o Langdon's sent on to the General. I have directed the express to take your orders that may be necessary for the conduct of the teamsters and must let them know whether they may be met with any of your teams and where.

I am, Sir, yr. most hum^{le} serv.

JONTH TRUMBULL.

P. S. The enemy confidently say Connecticut will be quiet as lambs before the first day of June.

Hon^{le} JOHN LANGDON Esq^{re}.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 7th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,— I think it my duty to acquaint you that the several works in the harbour of Boston, on Dorchester Heights and that on Fort Hill, together with the magazine, ordnance and commissary's store, the pay and loan offices, &c, are now without either guards or sentinels, which is a situation extremely hazardous. I must therefore beg of you to order such immediate relief as to you may seem most proper to prevent any attempts of abandoned villians to injure the publick stores.

I am just informed that there are numbers of soldiers strolling in several towns in this State, who are inlisted under officers who have received beating orders, but are not arraigned in any battalion. The idleness of such recruits has been complained of to me by those who have apprehended that they were continental soldiers and under my command. I do not conceive that I have any command of them untill their officers are arraigned in some of the continental battalions, but submit it to your Honors, whether it is not expedient that some place of rendezvous be appointed for them, as their strolling about from place to place not only gives uneasiness to the publick, but also exhibits a dangerous example which will be too readily imitated by others.

I am informed that some of the troops which marched from this State to Tyconderoga without arms, expecting to find them there agreeable to the intimation which was given by the commanding officer there (some time since) have been disapointed and are now destitute of arms. I have ordered three hundred to be sent on from Springfield to that place.

I am, &c.

W. HEATH.

Hon^l Council of Mass^{ts} Bay.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE BOARD OF WAR.

BOSTON, May 11th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN, — I do myself the honor to transmit to you the returns of the ordnance, provisions, and stores as exhibited to me by the several officers in this department. M^r Miller, the Deputy Commissary, has just now informed me that there are at least 7,000 barrels of beef and pork, 3,000 barls. of flour, and 50 tons of hard bread belonging to the United States which have for some time been collecting, and are now stored in the differant stores in this State, exact returns of which shall be transmitted to you in my next. We are removing back the provisions and stores with all possible dispatch to places of safety.

Apprehending that the cannon and military stores which lately arrived at Portsmouth were rather in a hazardous situation there, and anxious to secure them, I recommended to the Hon. M^r Langdon the delivery of them to the Commissary of Artillery Stores, or that he would send them back and deposit them himself in some safe place. He acceded to the former. Inclosed is a return of what has been sent on in the course of the last week to Cambridge as the first stage. Fresh teams are engaging this day to move them on towards Springfield. I would solicit that four or six peices of the cannon may remain in this vicinity. I hope the steps which I have taken for the securing these stores will be approved of by Congress. Recent instances do but prove to us that the eye of a commander will ever be fixed on the magazines of his opponents, and that at every hazard if possible he will destroy them; policy therefore dictates that the places where they are formed be well chosen, the ground naturally defeneable, and not easy of access, behind defiles, &c, that they be in the rear of the army and in differant

places, one in the rear of the other, and the whole of supernumery stores by no means in one place, as they are subject to be lost by accidents as well as destroyed by the enemy. Springfield is centerical, but I do not conceive the ground to be the most defencable; would it not be well to have another magazine at Worcester or Brookfield, rather than to trust too much at one place? I am in pain on account of the great quantities of stores at Tyconderoga, too many I think to be trusted at an out post situated as that is.

You will have heard ere this reaches you that our Assembly have resolved to complete their battalions by draught which is to be made on Thursday next. Upwards of 1,800 Continental troops have marched from this State to Tyconderoga, exclusive of the train, and about 1,500 to Peek's Kill, including the train, and other detachments daily marching off. I do not allow them to stay a day after they are equipped; numbers are in the hospitals under the operation of the small pox. As soon as they can endure the fatigues of the march they are sent on. I think that several regiments should be posted here, as it is I think more than probable that we shall have a visit in the course of the campaign. This is hinted in several letters which have been brought here this day from New York, wrote by officers there to some of the fair sex here. Several important places in the harbour ought to be fortified, and guarded at least by a few troops. 1,500 of the militia of Hampshire and Berkshire counties have been ordered to Tyconderoga. Our frigates are still in the harbour.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your ob^t serv^t.

Board of War and Ordnance, Philadelphia.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TO THE COUNCIL OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

(Copy)

LIBERTIES OF CONCORD GOAL, 11th May, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—After the repeated testimonies exhibited in the publick prints of Boston with respect to Gen^l Lee being treated as a gentleman in his confinement, I hope I may again be permitted the liberty of addressing the candour of your Hon^{ble} Board on the propriety of my removal from the Common Goal of Concord; where I am sorry to observe, I experience even at this late period a degree of usage less becoming than the just principles of retaliation require.

In my letter of the 17th of March addressed to the Hon^{ble} the President of Council, I stated the extreme inconvenience and impropriety of my situation at Concord, together with the objects I had in view by the moderate request of removal; and I would hope your Hon^{ble} Board on a reconsideration of the matter may at this juncture be pleased to honor that request with a compliance; at least so far that I may be removed with my servants to some retired habitation in the country, with a guard upon my person (if thought necessary) a ceremonious security better adapted to the distinction and feelings of a British Lieu^t Colonel (*against whom there is no personal charge*) than that which I at present experience by being ignominiously placed under the charge of a goal keeper. But should reasons of policy render it expedient to remove me at a greater distance from Boston than my former abode at Reading, I should esteem it a singular act of kindness in your Hon^{ble} Board to fix my residence henceforth at Dunstable or at Lancaster; towns which, I

have heard, are pleasant in their situations, well supplied in provisions, and in which there are at this period tollerable accommodations to let.

I have annexed for the Hon^{ble} Board the list of servants I wish to have along with me in my confinement. As they are all at Reading, one excepted, who is here with me (named Peter Ferguson), I shall consider it an additional obligation to receive your order for their being sent to whatever quarter you are pleased to allot for my future residence, together with my baggage and every article of provision belonging to me now lying at Reading.

Gen^l Heath having been pleased to signify that an equal number of Americans ought to be released on their paroles to compensate for the indulgence of granting me these servants, I sent him a letter of certificate addressed to the British Commissary of Prisoners of War at Rhode Island; and I doubt not but a matter of such justice will be strictly agreed to by the gentⁿ on the certificate being presented.

I have the honor to be, with all due respect, Gentlemen,
Your most obed^t, h^{ble} serv^t.

ARCH^d CAMPBELL,

Lieut Colo^l 71st Reg^t.

Servants.

Clerk — John Wilson, Volunteer.

Groom — David Johnston }
Cook — Arch^d Silver — } Private Soldiers.

D^o Wife and 2 Children

Private { William Boyd } Not soldiers, but as such con-
Servants { Peter Ferguson } sidered as prisoners of war.

The Hon^{ble} Council of Boston.

JOHN LANGDON * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PORTSMOUTH, May 12th, 1777.

SIR, — I've just received a letter from Governor Trumbull p express, copy of which is inclosed, by which you'll see that it's tho't the enemy intend attacking the State of Connecticut and shews the necessity of some of the field pieces and other stores being sent on to that State as soon as may be for their defence; should they not be wanted there they will be on their way to Head Quarters. I shall write Governor Trumbull that I am delivering the stores to your order and am forwarding them on for the use of the Continent, and shall refer him to you for any supplies that the State of Connecticut may want. The express informs me that his teams are at Watertown waiting to take some of the articles, should you see fit to send them on. About seventy teams have been sett off already, am procureing others as fast as possible to carry on the remainder.

I am, with great respect, yr. most ob^t serv.

JOHN LANGDON.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL†

BOSTON, May 13th, 1777.

SIR, — The Hon. M^r Langdon has just favored me with a copy of your Honor's letter to him of the 4th instant, requesting a quantity of military stores, some field peices, &c, to be sent on immediately to Connecticut, &c.

* John Langdon was born in Portsmouth, N. H., June 25, 1741, and died there Sept. 18, 1819. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, but resigned in June of the following year to become navy agent. Subsequently he was almost continuously in the public service, either in New Hampshire, as a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, or under the national government. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. p. 609. — Eds.

† For a sketch of Governor Trumbull, see Preface to 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. — Eds.

Anxious for the security of those vallueable stores which I apprehended to be there rather in a hazardous situation, I wrote to M^r Langdon requesting, that he would either deliver them to Major Barber, Commissary of Artillery Stores, in order to their being safely deposited, or if his instructions from the Hon. Board of War and Ordnance were such as not to admit of his delivery of them, that he would send them to some place of safety himself. He wrote me that his orders were to deliver them to the order of the before mentiond Board, but being convinced that they were rather unsafe at that place he would deliver them to me, to be deposited as I should think proper. His Excellency General Washington having directed me to remove all supernumery stores to Springfield, I am pushing of them on with all possible dispatch to that place, and have wrote to his Excellency acquainting him of it, and expect further directions by to morrow's post. I have advised that the teams sent by your order should load with ordnance stores, musket ball, flints, small arms, &c, and the horses move on with six field peices, the whole to Springfield, as I am rather embarrassed as to sending of them elsewhere, untill I have further orders, and as the gentleman who waits upon me with the letter informs me that you have wrote to the General on the subject I hope you will have an answer before the teams get on to Springfield, in which case orders may be sent on to them conformable. Should I receive any special order respecting them I will immediately send on an express, both to your Honor and to Springfield. The cannon have all their apparatus complete, but there is no ammunition for them here except round shott. The fixed ammunition, tubes, port fires, &c, being all at Springfield in the Labortory.

As to the delivery of any more small arms I am prohibited, untill further orders, by the following paragaugh of a letter from Gen^l Knox, of the 27th ultimo, in answer

to one which I wrote to him to be informed whether more arms were to be sent on to Connecticut, viz'. "His Excellency the General by no means meant that Connecticut should have more than 3,000 stand of the arms arrived at Portsmouth, and if they have received (as it appears by a letter from General Parsons that they have) 3,000 stand they are the full proportion of Connecticut, and they are to receive no more; you will please to put this matter in such a way as no mistake may happen." Your Honor will perceive by this that I am embarrassed as to the delivery of arms, especially to others than the Continental troops. I shall be happy in affording you every assistance in my power. Every species of military stores are depositing at Springfield, which is contiguous to you.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, May 14th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — The post sitting off rather sooner on Monday than common prevented mine of the 11th instant being forward'd by him. An application from Governor Trumbull of Connecticut to M^r Langdon, copy of which M^r Langdon has sent me, occasions my writing to your Excellency by express. Governor Trumbull has represented to M^r Langdon that the "State of Connecticut seems now to be the object of the enemy's attention," that the inhabitants who are now called to the field are very deficient in arms, and that tents, flints, ball, clothing, and many other articles are greatly wanted in that State, and earnestly requests that a "good quantity of those articles," and also a number of the field peices, may be immediately sent on to that State. M^r Langdon has refered the matter to me. I do not see my way clear to

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 54-57. — Eds.

deliver them untill I have more express orders for that purpose. I have wrote to Governor Trumbull that I am sending the stores on to Springfield, but as General Knox had wrote me that the 3,000 arms already delivered to Connecticut was their full proportion of those arrived no more were to be delivered to that State. I had therefore wrote to Co^{lo} Cheever not to deliver to that State any more arms except by order of Congress, your Excellency, or Gen^l Knox, and I think that to put them into the hands of the militia before the Continental army is supplied would be ill policy. As your Excellency recommended that the supernumery stores should be forwarded to Springfield I am pushing of them on, and the necessary ammunition of the field peices is there fixing. But I must beg your Excellency's immediate direction as to the artillery and stores, as I apprehend the State of Connecticut will be impatient untill something is determined. Should I receive any special directions from your Excellency by this day's post respecting this matter shall instantly act conformable thereto.

TIMOTHY DANIELSON * TO JEREMIAH POWELL.†

BRIMFIELD, May 14th, 1777.

SIR, — Have endeavourd to send off fifteen hundred men to Ticonderoga from the county of Hampshire, but only a part have marched; many are the difficulties that arise, the greatest beg leave to mention. The county have been at great expence to inlist their quota of the continental army, and the very men that have paid large

* Timothy Danielson was born in Brimfield, Mass., Dec. 6, 1733, graduated at Yale College in 1756, and studied theology, afterward taught school, and finally engaged in business in his native town. Subsequently he filled various important places in military and civil life. In December, 1777, he was made Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Hampshire County, which office he held until 1790. He died Sept. 19, 1790. See Dexter's Yale Biographies, second series, pp. 410, 411. — Eds.

† For a notice of Jeremiah Powell, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 126 n. — Eds.

sums of money to hire continental soldiers to enlist are now drafted to march to Ticonderoga, while the men they hired are rioting at home on their money, unconcerned about the fate of this country. While the one is quitting his family, his farm and husbandry, to reinforce at Ticonderoga, the other is sporting from house to house, and from tavern to tavern, spending the money the honest farmer has earned with the sweat of his face, and all this said to be by General Heath's orders. One instance I will mention; it is said by the people of Springfield that Captain Coulton's company of that town is by orders retained in Springfield to guard the stores there, a company hired at great cost by the people now detached to Ticonderoga. The militia would not have complained at a draught to guard the stores, had the continental troops been marched. Such is the present disposition, your Honor will judge with how much reason they act. Unless some effectual measure is taken to send off the continental soldiers, or if they are ordered only to guard stores in some inland town, it may be depended on the militia will not march to any advanced posts, where there is the greatest need of guards.

I am, Sir,

Your Honor's most obed^t, very hum^{le} servant.

TIM^o DANIELSON.

A true copy.

Attest, JN^o AVERY, *Dp^y Secy.*

The Hon^l JER: POWELL Esq^r.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

LIBERTIES OF CONCORD GOAL, 16th May, 1777.

SIR, — My situation as a prisoner of war, by being so long placed under the hands of a goaler and seperated from my servants and baggage, exposes me to such dis-

agreeable feelings, inconvenience, and expence, I am again under the necessity of troubling you for your kind offices with the Hon^{ble} Board for the purpose of alleviating them.

Last Monday I forwarded to them an address on that subject, of which the inclosed is a transcript; and I would hope on the just principles of retaliation, I may at this juncture be honored with their and your concurrence to my request. It matters little to me, Sir, where the Hon^{ble} Council are pleased to fix my confinement, so that my treatment shall be that of a gentleman, to which I think from my rank and conduct I have just claims to expect.

Upon the mere report of Gen^l Lee being ill treated at New York the law of retaliation was exercised on my person, I am sorry to say, with unwarrantable severity, by being cast thirty four days and nights into the dungeon of a condemned criminal; I say unwarrantable because Gen^l Lee was never treated so unhandsomely. However, Sir, I have charity enough to believe it was not meant to have been so much inferior to his in point of decency; and still enjoy the hope that my future experience as a prisoner of war may confirm me in that opinion.

It is now, Sir, beyond all manner of doubt that General Lee has suitable apartments allotted to him in the Town House of New York and his necessary servants and baggage to accompany him in his confinement; notwithstanding of which I am confined to a single apartment in a publick tavern within the liberties of a goal; where I am unavoidably exposed to the tumultuous noise of company, and even to the insults of the lower class of passengers who constantly frequent it. How far this is consistent I submit to your own candour to pronounce; I only wish, Sir, to have that justice shewn me that you yourself would require, situated as I stand at present in the

quality of a prisoner of war. If you think my request reasonable, I am persuaded from your known candour and sensibility you will think it not unworthy of your feelings to give me immediate redress. It shall be my study, Sir, to merit so much of your regard by every act which may testify the acknowledgements of a gentleman who has the honor to be, with all respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

ARCH^d CAMPBELL,
Lieu^t Colo^l 71st Reg^t.

P. S. I am now 107 days confined under the hands of a goalkeeper without a personal charge against.

The Hon^{ble} Gen^l HEATH, &c., &c., &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, May 19th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — Saturday last the General Court Martial appointed for the tryal of Lieut Col^o Farrington of Col^o Putnam's regiment (charged with behaving in a scandalous and infamous manner) gave in their judgment, that he was guilty of the charge alledged against him and have adjudged him to be discharged from the army, incapable to serve in the Continental service and ordered him to be published in the news papers, I have approved the judgment which has this day been put in execution. Immediately upon his being discharged from his arrest, the Council ordered him under close confinement.

The friends of Peter Pickman Frye (who is under sentence to be shott for desertion) have earnestly requested a suspension of execution untill they can prefer a petition to the Hon^{ble} Congress, and receive their determination

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 57, 58. — Eds.

thereon. As this request was backed by some gentlemen of distinction I conceived it to be my duty to indulge them with time to present their petition and have suspended the execution to the 12th of June next. His friends beg a pardon. The publick call for his execution. The former say he is insane; the latter that he is more knave than fool. For my own part I nither ask for a pardon or execution, but shall strictly execute the pleasure of Congress.

General Du Coudray arrived here the last week from France via of the West Indies and to morrow sits out to joyn your Excellency. He appears to be a gentleman of character and abilities. He has here near twenty other officers who he has directed to come on after him with the artillery. We are told that he is to command all the artillery and engineers in the service of the United States, and that in consequence of his having assisted in the purchasing of military stores, &c, the last autumn his commission is to have an early date. But will this be rewarding the labours of those who early stood forth in defence of the rights of their injured country, and are still invariably possevering at every hazard, or is there to be more confidence put in a stranger than in those who are bound by every tie, natural and political, to serve their country?

I am forwarding on the stores from Cambridge to Springfield. 65 chests of fire arms (exclusive of the 25 mentioned in my former letter,) about 64,000 flints, 70 boxes of musket ball and 6 bales of tents are now on the road, and all the teams possible to be procured are now engaging. Thirty odd peices of cannon have arrived at Cambridge and others are on the road. General Knox has sent Cap^t Lillie of the artillery to conduct on thirty two peices of the cannon, and has desired that horses may be purchased here for them. I have directed the Assistant Q. M. G. to do it as soon as possible, but Cap^t Lillie in-

forms me that it will be near three weeks before the harness and other necessary preparations can be completed at Springfield. The expences attending the removal of so many stores creates a very great expence and the chest is almost exhausted.

I must again request your Excellency's direction as to the provision stores in this State which are very considerable; at Sherburne there are upwards of 20,000 bushells of salt in one store. The quantity of beef, pork, liquors, rice, and flour are great; of the last article 3 or 4,000 bls. is already arrived, and Cap^t Tracy informs me that if the vessells which he daily expects should safely arrive the quantity of flour will be at least 20,000 bbls.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, May 27th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have received the honor of yours of y^e 10th instant and immediately sent on L^t Col^o Sprout, who is an active spirited officer, to correct those abuses committed by the troops on the march mentioned by your Excellency. I have desired the same of General Nixon, who is also on his journey to Peeks Kill, at which place he will have arrived before this reaches you. But surely all the troops have not been dilatory; some detachments have reached Albany in ten days from the time they left this place.

Colonel Putnam, having marched off his first division, was desirous to take the small pox by inoculation. He is now upon the recovery, and as soon as able will go forward agreeable to your Excellency's direction.

Our greatest difficulty is the want of clothing, those troops who marched without it, and were told that they would be supplied at Peeks-Kill, are disappointed. The

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 58-60. — Eds.

men there are almost naked and many of them lousy, and not a second shirt to their backs. Some have been told that large quantities were sent to the northward, and officers have been as far as Albany in quest of it, and have finally returned here with their mouths filled with complaints. Vast quantities of clothing has gone forward, but to where I know not. The agents tell me that they are obliged to send it on to the Clothier General; but had it been sent on on the men's backs the heavy expence of transportation would have been saved. The Colonels have applied 'till they are discouraged, as your Excellency will observe by an enclosed line from Col^o Putnam. I have sent, I have spoke, I have wrote to the agents repeatedly. Two of their written answers I take the liberty to enclose. I do not charge them with any neglect; but your Excellency will se that I have done all in my power, unless I had taken the clothing by force.

As vast quantities of stores and provisions are moving back, the commissaries apply for large store houses; shall I order such to be built as are necessary, as they inform me they cannot be hired?

Colonel Lee and Jackson have represented to me that some of their officers have been long appointed, and devoted to the service (altho they have but few men inlisted) and that they are in want of some pay. Will it be advisable to pay them any before they are commissioned?

Major General Gates has wrote to the Council of this State that tents and camp kittles are much wanted by the army in that department, and observes that "finding a number of tents and a quantity of tin had arrived at Portsmouth from France," entreats that they would order two thousand of the former and as much of the latter as can be spared to be sent without delay to Albany. The Council have sent me a copy of the letter. The number of tents mentiond is double the number that arrived. I

am agreeable to your Excellency's orders sending them on to Springfield, which is on the rout to Albany, if your Excellency should think proper to order them on to that place.

I am this moment informed the clothing for Col^o Putnam's reg^t will be obtained here.

I have the honor to be.

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, June 3^d, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — General Glover and Colonel Pickering being waiting to proceed on their journey to the army, I have only time to acknowledge the honor of yours of the 23rd ult^o, and beg leave to inform your Excellency, that notwithstanding the distresses of the soldiery sent from this State to Peeks-Kill for want of cloathing, and an officer from each regiment stationd there having come here to procure it, it cannot be obtained without orders from your Excellency or the Clothier General. The clothing is sent on from time to time, when the officers apply for it, especially those destined to Peeks-Kill. They are told that they will find it there, but have been disapointed. The agents now inform those officers who have come after it, that a large quantity is on the road going either to Peeks Kill or Fish Kill. I do therefore most earnestly entreat that your Excellency would give express orders that it be stoped there, and that those troops who are suffering may be supplied, as they cannot obtain it here. All the clothing which was collected here by a committee of this State was long since delivered into the hands of the agents. The officers who came down are returning to Peeks-Kill, relying upon the

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 60-62. — Eds.

assurances of the agents that they shall have a supply from that clothing now on the road.

Twenty eight peices of cannon have already been sent on. The others are following. A large quantity of powder goes on to morrow or next day ; the barrels being badly hooped has made it necessary that nearly the whole should be coopered before it can be sent further.

I am, &c.

General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, June 7th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—I have just received the inclosed line from Cohoss, from the Rev^d Doc^r Langdon of Cambridge ; it was wrote to the Doc^r by Colonel Hurd of the militia, who lives at Haverhill in the State of New Hampshire, about 150 miles from St. Johns. The Doc^r informs me that he is a man of veracity and thinks the account may be depended on. If so, little is to be feared from that quarter. Our privateers have lately taken a transport with eighty four Hessians on board bound for Quebeck, and have sent her into a port at the eastward, from whence we expect her the first fair wind. About 1,500 Hessians are coming out in the whole, part destined to Quebeck and part to New York. I doubt not but many more will fall into our hands. A vallueable prize is sent into Salem laden with dry goods, among which are a large number of blankets,—an article much wanted.

I am sending on the cannon, stores, &c, to Springfield as fast as teams can be procured. Inclosed is a return of what has already gone on. At the time I requested of your Excellency that six peices of cannon might be left here, I mentioned the same to the Board of War and

* Washington's answer is in his letter of June 23, printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 60-62. — Eds.

Ordinance, to whom I then sent a return of the stores. They wrote me that six peices might be detained, and that I must acquaint your Excellency therewith; but your Excellency having been pleased to signify your pleasure in your last on that head with such weighty reasons against it that I shall send them all on the moment the teams are ready. The Assistant Q. M. G. has purchased 50 or 60 horses to take the cannon directly on to the field, by which a considerable expence will be saved in the transporting of them. But the expence of purchasing the horses is considerable and our chest is now intirely exhausted, and without a speedy supply the service will suffer greatly. I have been obliged to pay a number of the regiments a part of their pay, as they were in great want. Our troops continue to march off pretty briskly, both to Tyconderoga and Peek-Kill. Upon tryal we find the late rout to Peek-Kill by the way of Kenderhook or Clavrack much further, and more inconvenient than the former one by Litchfield. Shall I order the troops in future that way or continue the late rout?

I have applied to the Assembly for the necessary guards for the stores, and in order to render them still more secure, I have requested of them in case of alarm, insurrection, or invasion to assign a certain number of the militia which I have mentioned to each as their alarm post, instead of repairing to any other quarter by which means any preconcerted plan may be defeated. This is now before the Assembly and I am informed will be adopted; they also discover a disposition first to complete the Continental regiments agreeable to your recommendation.

The carteredge boxes which have commonly been made for the army are made of the most miserable materials, and in case of storms commonly serve only to waste the ammuniion which is carried in them. Colonel Lee, who

undoubtedly may be called a martinet in military matters, is desirous that the boxes for the three regiments which are to be posted here may be made of better leather. He has brought me a sample. The first expence will be considerably more than that of the present modle, but in a long run they will be much the cheapest as they will with proper care last the war, whilst the other will scarcely last one campaign. I would beg your Excellency's opinion.

Cap^t Sullivan,* who was detained in Canada for some time as a hostage, has applied to me for some pay. He tells me that your Excellency informed his brother (Gen^l Sullivan) upon an application to you that the officers on parole were not to be continued in pay but that the hostages were; that they must not engage in any business, but be ready to return on the shortest notice. I beg to be informed in this matter as to Cap^t Sullivan.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.†

BOSTON, June 12th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received the honor of yours of the 1st instant. A privateer schooner arrived here the last night from a cruize; she has taken two prizes, one laden with coal, the other with oats, &c. The privateer fell in with a fleet of transports with the Hessian troops on board, under convoy of a 50 gun ship and frigate, from whom he received considerable damage. The cap^t of the privateer reports that from the best information he could obtain from the prisoners on board one of the vessells which he took, there are not more than 3,000 troops coming out including foreigners.

* Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, a younger brother of the more famous John and James Sullivan. — EDS.

† The answer to this letter is also included in Washington's letter of June 23, printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 60-62. — EDS.

Three hundred and seventy barrells of powder is sent on to Springfield. The remainder as soon as the barrels are coopered, and a place is provided by Colonel Cheever, is to be sent to Brookfield. The other stores and provisions we are removing as fast as possible; they are removed first to Cambridge and Watertown in lighters and boats, and then sent on as teams can be procured to the different magazines. The expence of doing this, as I before observed to your Excellency, is great, and our treasury has for some days been entirely empty. Mr Hancock has wrote repeatedly, but the money has not as yet arrived. The Assistant Q. M. G. is also intirely out of money, and the service will unavoidably suffer without an immediate supply.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PEEKS KILL, June 13th, 1777.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — Your favor of the 25th was handed to me; which I should long ere now have acknowledged, but waited for an opportunity to give you a general detail of the state of affairs at this post since you left it. But I find the longer I delay the less the prospect to accomplishing my purpose. The state of the post, and the conduct of the enemy on the 23 of March, were nearly as it was stated in our papers. They appeared on the river with a fair wind and tide, and approached so fast that it became necessary for me to be on horseback from the moment I received the advice of

* Alexander McDougall was born in the island of Islay, Scotland, in 1731, and probably came to America with his father in 1755. At first he followed the sea, and afterward became a successful merchant in New York. On the breaking out of the war with the mother country he warmly espoused the American cause, and entered the army in June, 1776, serving with distinction on several occasions. While in command at West Point in January, 1782, he became involved in a bitter controversy with General Heath, abundant details of which will be found in their proper chronological order in these Papers. He died in New York June 8, 1786. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. pp. 107, 108. — Eds.

their movement. This occasioned the loss of some of my own valuable things, and yours, except one camp stool and the frame of your bed curtains. The Military Instructions was in my trunk safe. I shall take the utmost care of them; but as I have been continually hurried till General Putnam took the command, I have had no time to peruse them. I shall therefore beg to have the perusal of them a little longer. You may rest assured the utmost care will be taken of them; and they shall always be subject to your order. I have had small parties of militia and short levis as low as the plains all winter, but they were so insufficient for the protection of the country that her enemies of that neighbourhood have stolen the most of the cattle of her friends. General Howe has collected all his force to Jersey except seven regiments left at New Port, and about 2,000 men on York Island, most of which are new levis, including about 500 Hessians; the whole under the command of Gen^l Kniphausen. A considerable part of the enemies' northern army you be assured have arrived at Newyork, and are now in Jersey. This evinces the enemy have no great expectation of strong reinforcements from Europe. If our country had raised her troops in any reasonable time we should long ere now destroyed Gen^l Howe's army and been in possession of Newyork. This might now be accomplished with two full brigades. But they cannot be spared. Generals Parsons, McDougall, and Glover are under marching orders to join the grand army. The enemy is just on the point of moving. The General thinks to Phi^a; I have been long of opinion that was their object. 150 saile of ships which were in the North River have fallen down to Amboy, to take troops on board and 600 wagons pressed from Long-Island, many of them arrived in Jersey. These movements indicate an intention in the enemy to send troops to the Deleware. Indeed I have been surprised that General Howe should ever think of risqing a

march to Phi^a when he might with infinitely more ease get there by sea. And yet by the apparatus in Jersey he clearly intends to risque a march to the banks of the Delaware. You may rest assured the sensible officer in the enemies' army and the Tories of understanding have given over all thoughts of conquering America. This I have had by different streams of intelligence. They are therefore pushing for Phi^a in hopes by the possession of that city to intimidate the country into a negotiation. If America was not wanting to herself she might soon get rid of those wicked invaders. The strength of the enemy never gave me a discouraging thought. But I confess the supiness of the country has many. But I trust that God to whom we have righteously appealed will extricate this land from the cruel and unprovoked oppressor. Time will only permit me to add, that I am

Your affectionate h^{ble} serv^t.

ALEX^R M^CDOUGALL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, June 16th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — Since my last the Deputy Paymaster General has received from the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress warrants on the Loan Office for a supply of monies. We have purchased about one hundred horses for the cannon and ammunition waggons; as soon as the latter are compleated, the whole will be sent on without loss of time.

Saturday last a prize brig was sent in here by Commodore Manly; she was bound from London to New York laden with duck, cordage, &c. The same day two brigs arrived from Bilboa; they were sent the last fall from this place by M^r Miller, Deputy Commissary, and were almost

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 63, 64. — Eps.

loaded at Bilboa with salt in order to return, when by order of M^r Lee and others part of the salt was unloaded, and the vessells loaded with anchors, cables, cordage, duck, linnens, &c. One of them has cordage compleat for a ship of 7 or 800 tons; a large ship was soon to follow laden with the same kind of articles. Those arrived in the two brigs are consigned to the Hon. James Warren, Esq^r, by direction of Elbridge Gerry, Esq^r, member of Congress. Gen^l Warren is surprized that they should come consigned to him, and is pretty confident that they are the property of the United States, and thinks M^r Gerry could not send them on his own account. Their being sent in vessells fitted out by the Continental Commissary is another strong evidence that they belong to the Continent. We shall unload and store the effects untill the matter is ascertained.

I have this moment received the inclosed letter from General Spencer, your Excellency will observe that he expects the pay of a seperate comand, and also pay for a secretary, deputy adj^t general, and a brigade major. I beg your Excellency's direction as soon as possible, as the several officers I suppose want their pay, and I am at some loss in the matter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, June 19th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—The last evening I received the honor of yours of the 8th instant. In my last I wrote your Excellency that clothing was now preparing with the utmost dispatch for the troops of this State, and that I was in hopes there would be no more complaints on

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 62, 63. — EDS.

that head. Your Excellency in your last on mentioning that the troops have been illy supplied is pleased to observe that "This, however, has not been the case with all the reg^{ts} for I am informed that Greateon's have not only drawn a full supply of cloth cloaths, but have likewise drawn the same number of hunting shirts, &c, and if others have done the same it is no wonder that part go naked when some are double clad." When it is considered that Col^o Greateon is my townsman and formerly Lieut^t Col^o of my own reg^t one must be possessed of a pretty large share of charity not to think that this informant meant to charge some body with partiality; but as my soul dispises such little insinuations I will not trouble your Excellency on this head any further than just to observe, that Col^o Greateon, instead of drawing double sutes of cloths for his reg^t, drew a few shirts, overhall waistcoats, &c, only, and marched his men on the presumption of finding clothing at Peeks-Kill, but finding none there, Cap^t Sumner by order of General McDougall has come back to procure it here for the men, who are almost naked; and Colonel Greateon this moment informs me that he has not drawn a single sute of cloth cloaths as yet; some regiments have drawn five or six hundred sutes when they have not had half that number of men, which has made many other officers very uneasy, as it is well known who have conducted in this manner.

Lt. Colonel Mason wrote me the last night that General Schuyler had sent him an order to send to Albany 12 light field peices. As General Schuyler is my senior, I have no right to forbid his ordering the cannon where he may think proper; but as your Excellency was pleased in your letter of the 10th ultimo to direct "that the 31 light peices of Swedish construction and two peices of the heavy may be sent forward to Litchfield," and every preparation of horses, ammunition waggons, fixed ammunition, &c, have been ever sinc preparing and are now

nearly complete, and will soon go forward, I have directed Col^o Mason immediately to certify General Schuyler of such your Excellency's orders. With respect to Col. Mason sending 12 of the heavy peices to Albany, your Excellency will please to direct.

It is truly surprising that some of the Connecticut regiments should be so weak as twenty men only in the field, when some from this State notwithstanding their much greater distance, and many other difficulties which have embarrassed them, are from 3 to 400, and some of those marched to the northward more, and will soon be stronger. The urgency of the service has prompted us to every exertion in our power.

PHILIP SCHUYLER* TO ISRAEL PUTNAM.

ALBANY, June 28th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have this moment rec^d a letter from Gen^l S^t Clair, copies whereof I have transmitted to his Excell^{cy} Gen^l Washington, and to the Council of Safety of this State, — the latter I have requested to forward a copy to you. You will perceive our situation to the northward. I am very apprehensive that I shall not be able to obtain a body of militia sufficient to make effectual opposition, and as his Excell^y Gen^l Washington has advisd me by letter of the 20th inst^t that he had orderd you to hold four Massat^s reg^{ts} in readiness at Peek's Kill, to reinforce me, you will please to hasten them on with all possible dispatch. I shall send sloops from here, but if any craft can be procurrd near you, I wish you by no means to wait the arrival of vessels from hence.

I am, dear General, with respect and esteem,

Your most obed^t, hum^l ser^t.

PH. SCHUYLER.

Hon^{ble} Gen^l PUTNAM.

* For a notice of General Schuyler, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 6 n. — Eds.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, June 30th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have not been honored with a line from you since the 8th instant. I have seen a copy of your Excellency's letter to Major General Putnam, in which the then debilitated state of the army in the Jerseys is mentioned, which is truly surprising, as we have been constantly told that the army under your immediate command consisted of 15 or 16,000 men, and that you were vastly superior to the enemy in numbers. Your Excellency may expect a reinforcement of between 800 and 1,000 men in a very few days well accoutred, armed, and clad, viz^t, about 300 from Col^o Putnam's reg^t, the like number from Bigelow's, and upwards of 100 each from Greateon's, Aldin's, and Nixon's, besides some other small detachments; part of this reinforcement is now on the march, the remainder follow in a day or two, being detained for their clothing, which no time is lost in compleating.

Col^o Crane left this place on Thursday morning last for Springfield, for which place a detachment of his regiment marched some days before. The Colonel intended when he left this place to move forward from Springfield on this day or tomorrow with the 31 light field peices and the two heavy (as some time since ordered by your Excellency), with 15 ammunition waggons, with fixed ammunition, &c, compleat. We have purchased horses sufficient to take on the whole. Such a respectable addition to the field artillery, with the troops which I before mentioned, I doubt not will animate our own troops and depress the spirits of the enemy. I will push on every man that I can arm, equip, and cloth without a moment's delay.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 65, 66. — Eds.

General Schuyler a few days since wrote me that some of the troops from this State and some of those from other States in his department were suffering for blankets, and earnestly requested that I would send him 3 or 400 immediately. We had none in the continental store, but I have obtained 400 very good ones from the State store, and have sent them on.

We find many of the French arms bad in the locks; there are many complaints of the breaking of the main springs, the cocks, and in particular the breaking of the pin or screw that fixes the cock to the plate. Some of those purchased by this State are scandalously bad. Col^o Crafts informs me that of 33 which he proved 16 burst. The number of this sort, however, was small, but about 100 and odd in the whole. I suppose them to have been made for the Guinea trade.

We have had no prizes sent in of late. A number of the enemy's cruisers are on our coast.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Exy. Gen^l WASHINGTON.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ALBANY, July 1st, 1777.

SIR, — I am favored with your letter of the 20^h June, which came to hand on my arrival at this place from Tyonderoga.

The enemy have opened the campaign in every quarter in this department. By a letter from General St Clair of the 28^t ult. their main body and fleet were still at Crown point, where they had been some days, and from whence they have sent strong parties to interrupt the communication. If we had a sufficient number of troops at that

post I should not be in pain for the event if they made a serious attack ; but our numbers are considerably below half what they ought to be. I am waiting with impatience for the militia and for a reinforcement from Peek's Kill, which is expected in a day or two to move up, either to give assistance to the garrison or to cover its retreat, should such an event unhappily take place. An incursion on the Mohawk River is also momentarily expected. Some scalping parties have already made their appearance.

As the distress this part of the country labours under for want of salt is inexpressible, it gives me great pleasure to be informed that pans for the purpose of manufacturing salt are to be procured. You will please to order four of the pans mentioned in your letter to be expedited to this place.

I am doubly distressed for blankets. Many are wanted for the troops, and a considerable number for the Indians, who are to meet me in great numbers at this place on the 15th inst., and who will be greatly disappointed if they do not meet with a supply ; permit me therefore to entreat your best exertions to assist me in procuring a supply, and be so good as to observe to the representative bodies of the State, that it is of the first importance that we should be able to support the good opinion the Indians have entertained of us.

His Excellency General Washington advises me that light artillery are daily expected at Boston from France ; and that I may be furnished with a supply you will be so good as to give me the earliest intimation of its arrival, that I may send horses to bring it on.

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

PH: SCHUYLER.

Honble. Major General HEATH, commanding at Boston.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ALBANY, July 3^d, 1777.

SIR, — I did myself the pleasure to write you on the first instant, but not having been able to forward my letter, it will be delivered you with this by Major Rensselaer.

The Six Nations of Indians who were invited to a conference to be held at this place on the 15^h inst have sent me word that they would generally attend. The importance of keeping these people to observe that neutrality which they have promised is so evident that it needs not to be particularly dwelt upon. Permit me only to observe that one tenth part of the money necessary to maintain a force equal to keep them in awe, expended in presents, will have the desired effect. The difficulty is to procure the articles that are wanted, and as they are not to be got any where but with you, I have sent Major Rensselaer for the purpose, and must earnestly entreat that you will be pleased to afford him every assistance in your power, and to order Major Chase, the D. Q. M. General, to provide him with carriages for which he will pay. I have written to the president of the State entreating his assistance also. Should any of the articles or any thing as a substitute be found in any of the continental stores you will please to order such to be delivered.

The enemy have approached within three miles of Tyconderoga, where they are retrenching themselves, and also are throwing a boom across the lake. This does not carry with it an idea that they have much force. The militia are marching up and part of the continental troops from Peek's Kill are momentarily expected. I shall make all the haste possible with them and hope we shall be able, at least, to prevent the enemy from doing any thing

capital. I have sent General Learned to collect the militia at Fort Edward and Fort Ann. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

PH: SCHUYLER.

Honble. Major General HEATH.

SAMUEL BREWER* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

TICONDEROGA, 3^d July, 1777.

HON^d S^r, — I receiv^d your letter; cannot now refer to y^e date as I am not now with my papers. I sensibly acknowledge your kind favor. Shall very cherfully comply with you request, in sending you every extraordinary occurrence that may from time to time happen in this camp, so far as shall come to my knowledge.

As to present news, can inform you that y^e enemy's fleet arriv^d in full view of us at 3 Mile Point the 30th of June, consisting of two ships, one of 22 gun and one of 18 or 20, with 5 or 6 sloops, and as near as we can tell about 25 ruddows and gun boats. The same day they landed a large number of men on 3 Mile Point, which were composed of Fraizer's infantry, Canadians, savages, &c., on y^e west. The next day, i. e. y^e 1st ins^t, 45 boats came up from Crown-point loaded deep with men, and landed on y^e east side, where they still remain in the woods. Y^e 2nd inst. they took possession of my old fortis at Mount Hope, which is near the mill and block house. They made several attempts upon Leut^t Hewit, with about 20 men. He having 2-2 pounders in the block house repuls^d them repeatedly: in the night following the Gen^l sent him orders to burn y^e block house and mill and make his escape y^e best way he could, which he did yesterday morning after sunrise. Befor noon they

* For brief notices of Col. Samuel Brewer, see Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, pp. 121, 122; Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 469. — Eds.

attack^t our piquett in y^e front of the French lines. Our piquet gave way after a brave resistance, and retreated within the lines and brought off the killd and wounded; they ventured to persue our men so close to the lines that one of our regiment had oppertunity of discharging two rounds on them, which with a few peices of cannon loaded with grape they scampered away. In the afternoon they rallied again, as we (we had replac^d our piquet) and made the second attack, but without effect; our piquet stood their ground. At the writing of this they are imbodied about a mile west of the lines and appear to be about a thosand of them. One of the infantry pushing so hard to kill one of our men (which hed) but was made a prisoner in an instant. 2 Waldeckers deserted to us yesterday, but am not able to give any account of what intellegeance they bring, as I am so much unwell I have not been able to go to Head Quarters since they were taken; nothing has been done this day on either side but prepare for action. Our numbers are few but in high spirit, and seem determined to conquer or die: our men are very helthy, thank God. Hope in my next to be able to give you a good account of those fellows that now present themselves to our view. S^r, excuse my freedom, as the post is now waiting for this. I beg leave to subscribe my self

Your Honour's much oblig^d, humb^l serv^t.

SAM^l BREWER.

To Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QRS., BOSTON, July 5, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—I was much surprised yesterday on hearing that Doctor Benj^a Church, who has for some time been confined for practises inimical to his country, is soon to be sent to the enemy in exchange for a gentleman

late belonging to our army who is now a prisoner in their hands. As I think no one can doubt that Doctor Church is fully acquainted with the state of our publick affairs and can communicate to the enemy intelligence which may be greatly detrimental to the United States at this juncture of our publick affairs, I beg leave to submit to your wisdom whether his exchange at this time will not be rather impolitic, and whether for several reasons which it is needless to mention it is not highly proper to procrastinate the exchange.

It is with reluctance that I at any time interrupt your important deliberations with the business of my own department, and I can assure you that nothing but necessity shall induce me to do it, but the present unguarded state of the publick stores, their importance to the publick, and present liableness to be injured by those who are abandoned enough to attempt it, constrains me earnestly to request a speedy draught of the necessary guards for their protection, the number of which I some time since mentioned. If the guards are already voted I beg to be informed who are the officers appointed to command them, and where the men are ordered to rendezvous after they are draughted, that I may know where and to whom to send the necessary orders.

I am very respectfully, your Honors' ob^t serv^t.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN GLOVER.*

Boston, July 6th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have just received your favor of the 2nd instant p express, you may be assured that I shall exert my utmost endeavours to forward every man that

* Gen. John Glover was born in Salem Nov. 5, 1732, and died in Marblehead Jan. 30, 1797. He served with distinction throughout the Revolutionary War, and on several occasions rendered highly important service. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. ii. p. 666. — Eds.

can be possibly sent on, both to Peeks Kill and Tyconderoga. A respectable number are now on their march, near 300 of Col^o Putnam's reg^t, about the same number from Bigelow's, about 100 each from Greaton's, Nixon's, and Aldin's, and detachments from several other regiments, and ere this reaches you Colonel Crane with 22 peices of brass cannon will have reach^d Peeks-Kill. I think the enemy will if possible effect a junction on Hudson's River. This has all along been my opinion, but I hope they will be defeated in their attempt. Gen^l Howe's late advancing his army to facilitate and secure the removal of his baggage and stores from Brunswick was, I think, one of the best manœuvres that ever he has made. Indeed his parade and preparations to pass the Delaware, together with so many open declarations of attempting Philadelphia at every hazard, being repugnant to every principal of military policy, fully evidenced that the whole was mere deception, and I gave my opinion of it as such to a number of gentlemen here upon his march to Somerset Court House before ever we heard the result. In feints, parade and pretensions with all the colourings of deception will be practised. But where real impressions are intended every appearance that may attract the attention, or cause an alarm will be carefully avoided, for in all things secrecy is profitable in war. Stratagems are infinite, but all have the same object, viz^t, *to deceive*. As Howe is now collecting his force, and has the sea coast in his power, I think he will make several movements to perplex and divide you. The important object must therefore be ever kept in view; we must guard against a capital blow and put up with small misfortunes. As junction is his object, to prevent it is yours. He will probably make a feint in the south western parts of Connecticut in order to divert your force. His ships will perhaps be hovering near the mouth of the Delaware for the same purpose; nay, should he make feints at Conne-

ticut River and Providence I should not be at all surprised. These would all serve to divert and distract the country, and prevent their march to joyn you, that he may the better effect his purpose; but guard well the Highlands. I know not what force you have or how it is disposed. If the enemy should come up suddenly and land at Haverstraw and possess themselves of the Thunder Hill (so called) Fort Montgomery must fall. It is vain to suppose that such places are inaccessible, light troops can advance on any ground, be it never so rough, and after possession is secured ways and means will be found to get up artillery. Remember, my dear Sir, what I have told you, viz^t, that art and stratagem constitute the sublime part of war, and that force most commonly is compelled to yield to them. This, I know, is a doctrine dispised by some in our day, but the more they se of war the more they will be convinced of the truth of the proposition. War is a trade for the ignorant; it is a sience for men of genius. It is without brink or bottom, but I have done. I will make an excuse for your not writing to the Assembly. I beg that you would favor me with a line as often as possible, stateing facts, as I already find that there is no dependence on common reports, for were they true at this time you would not need reinforcements, as your army is said to be near 20,000 strong.

I am, dr. Sir, yours affecty.

Gen^l GLOVER.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 7th, 1777.

SIR, — I have just received your favor of the 1st instant p^r express. I have ordered the flints, carteredge boxes, bullet pouches, and other articles enumerated in your

* For a notice of General St. Clair, see 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. p. 405 n. — Eps.

return to be immediately sent on. I am in some doubt as to the harness, as we have been lately drained to send on the cannon to Peek-Kill, but if it be possible it shall be procured. The other articles will go forward this afternoon. The militia of Hampshire and Berkshire counties received orders a day or two since to march to your assistance; and some detachments of Continental troops are now on their march to joyn you, so that I am in hopes you will be able to give the enemy a warm reception. Every aid in my power shall be granted you. Wishing you success,

I am affectionately your obe^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gen^l ST CLAIR.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO WILLIAM HEATH.

COLONEL MEAD'S, AT OTTER CREEK, July 7th, 1777.

SIR, — I was honored with your favor of the 2^d inst. this day. The exertions of the Convention to reinforce us at Ticonderoga merit my warmest thanks, tho they have been too late to answer the good purpose they intended. Finding that the enemy were ready for the march, and that it was morally impossible we could maintain the post with our handful of troops, and at the same time considering how necessary to the States it was to preserve our army, small as it is, it was determined in a council of the general officers that the posts in Ticonderoga and Mount Independence should be evacuated, and a retreat attempted to Skeensborough by the way of Castleton, and that every thing we could remove, with the sick, should be sent by water to the same place covered by the armed vessells.

This was accordingly attempted the night of the sixth, and in part executed, tho' not so perfectly as I could have wished with respect to the stores, owing to the con-

fusion that naturally attends operations in the night, and to the want of that regularity that nothing but discipline and experience can give troops; and just at break of day the army got on their march, unperceived by the enemy, although they were all round us, and should have effected it perfectly, had it not been for the burning of a house, whither from accident or want of thought I cannot say, but it served to inform the enemy of our retreat. And a party of them were on the Mount before the whole of our people had got off of it; they did not attempt, however, to pursue us, but only fired a few shott from the heighths which did us no damage. We pursued our route to Castleton, which we reached last night with the main body, having met on our way a party of the enemy who had been collecting cattle in the country. These were immediately dispersed, and a few prisoners taken. Colonel Warner with about a thousand men stopped six miles short of Castleton, where he was attacked this morning, the event of the action I cannot as yet ascertain, the accounts are so various from the persons who have come in, but I believe it has been pretty severe on both sides. I am now on my march to Bennington, which place I am obliged to make on account of provisions, the enemy having last night possessed themselves of Skeensborough, of which I got intelligence this morning, which determined me to take the road for that place, and there I beg that the reinforcements coming on by Number Four may be sent, as I shall immediately march from thence for the North River, and endeavour to throw myself betwixt the enemy and the inhabitants, and prevent Mr Burgoyne from penetrating into the country.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant.

A^R S^T CLAIR.

I must beg that all the flour that can be got may be sent forward.

I have wrote to the first commanding officer of the militia to take the shortest road to Bennington, with directions to send the same orders to such others as may be already on this side Number Four.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, July 7th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have received the honor of yours of the 23rd ultimo, and most heartily congratulate your Excellency on the fair prospect of your soon driving the enemy from the Jerseys, and hope your next will communicate such intelligence. But I think Gen^l Howe's late advancing his army in order to facilitate and secure the safe removal of his baggage and stores from Brunswick may be considered as one of his best manœuvres. Indeed, his parade and preparations to pass the Delaware, added to the repeated open declarations that at every hazard Philadelphia should be attempted being repugnant to every principal of sound military policy, did but evidence the whole to be mere deception, and perhaps with this view also to draw our army from advantageous ground to that less so. I think his real object is if possible to form a junction with Carlton by attempting a passage up the North River and a feint by another body of troops further eastward in Connecticut. But as we are informed by gentlemen lately arrived from camp that your Excellency's army is every hour growing formidable I think he can have but little prospect of success.

His possession of the water, however, is a very great advantage, as thereby feints or real impressions may be attempted with great ease. He will most probably soon give some specimens of both.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv, pp. 66-68. — EDS.

Your Excellency's particular care to have such troops as were suffering through the want of clothing at Peek's Kill supplied, is a fresh instance of your paternal affection for those under your command, and is noticed with gratitude. All acknowledge the impartiality that has so conspicuously marked every part of your Excellency's command. The troops of this State will, I think, now have a tolerable supply of clothing; but the Clothier Gen^l must be mistaken as to the quantity of clothing sent to the northward. Major Livingston, one of the agents, assures me that he is; and a letter just shewn me by Col^o Gillman of the State of New Hampshire, which is signed by the three col^{os} of the regiments from that State, written to their Council of Safety, most fully evince it; they represent their troops as being in a suffering condition, both as to tents and clothing. As to the former the D. Q. M. G. here is purchasing large quantities of duck, which is making into tents with the utmost expedition. 450 have already been made and sent on for Peek's Kill. I have also desired Major Livingston to aid them with clothing if possible. I have also myself at the request of Gen^l Schuyler procured of the State, and sent on the beginning of last week 400 blankets.

I have directed that the carteredge boxes be made as soon as possible for Col^o Lee's and Jackson's reg^t; one of the first that is finished shall be sent to your Excellency. Those colonels are desirous that the officers of their respective regiments may be commissioned, and have desired me to mention it to your Excellency. Shall a list of the officers' names be forwarded for your approbation and direction? They also desire to be informed whether one chaplain may not be allowed to the three regiments, including Henly's. In my next I will forward the best return of those regiments that they are able to make. Their recruiting officers being scattered throughout the State renders a return both difficult and uncertain. I

will also transmit the best return of the other regiments that I can obtain. I have posted Col^o Jackson's reg^t at Dorchester neck. Lee's is rendezvousing at Cambridge, being as yet too weak to do much duty, except guarding the magazine and stores at that place. As soon as their numbers are sufficient, I shall endeavour to fortify Governor's Island, a post of great importance on account of its being so contiguous to the castle. The utmost attention is paid to the forming and disciplining the regiments, and I flatter myself that their appearance and discipline will by and by recommend them to your Excellency's notice.

The 5,000 arms delivered to the Council of this State some time since by order of Congress are all delivered out to the troops. I am now obliged to issue arms to such as are ready to march. Your Excellency some time since directed that I should issue so many as were necessary.

Our coast is infested by the enemy's cruisers. They cut a brig a few days since out of Truro harbour (Cape Cod) having some hundred bushells of salt on board belonging to this State; a day or two after four sail came within sight of Nantasket which caused some alarm here. They immediately put off to sea again.

We some days since received by express from Gen^l Schuyler intelligence that the enemy were advancing towards Tyconderoga; an express just now arrived from Peekskill confirms it. I am also just informed by a letter from Col^o Crane, that upon his arrival at Springfield he found that the 15 waggons were not compleated, as we had been informed, and that he was proceeding with such as were done, viz^t, six, and twenty two peices of cannon, with which he expected to reach Litchfield the last night; by this he is most probably at Peekskill.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

BOSTON, July 13th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — On the 11th instant we received the disagreeable intelligence that on the night of the sixth our army evacuated the works at Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, and had retreated by Castleton and Skeensborough towards Benington. What the reasons for this retreat were we cannot as yet learn, and all at present seem astonished at it, as the militia from all quarters were marching to their aid. What increases the misfortune the most is that all the stores, tents, and camp utensils are lost. The Deputy Q. M. G. at Albany has wrote in the most pressing manner for tents and duck, camp kettles, and tin to be sent on to their relief immediately. We have sent on about 1,000 kettles, 600 of which are tin, a number of tents and a considerable quantity of duck. We cannot certainly learn what number of troops our garrison consisted of at Tyconderoga. The express informed me that they were about 5,000 strong, including the militia. It is said the enemy are about the same number. General Schuyler had two of our best regiments (Bailey's and Wesson's) at Albany. The former by a return which Col^o Bailey sent a few days since was upwards of 400 strong in the field, including officers. He (Gen^l Schuyler) has since marched towards Fort Edward, in order, it is said, to make a stand at that place.

The Council have this day received your Excellency's letter of the 7th instant by express. They have favored me with a sight of it, and are now deliberating upon its contents, and I doubt not will take the most prudent steps to guard against a surprise should the enemy attempt any-

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 68-70. — Eds.

thing this way. I shall do every thing in my power to aid and assist them.

Mr Ward, Secretary of the State of Rhode Island, informed me yesterday that just before he left Providence, it was reported that a party of our troops had crossed over to the island in the night, and had surprised and taken General Prescott and one of his aids de camp in bed and had safely brought them off. I hope it is true.

Colonel Faneuil and the officers who are with him who some time since solicited a regiment of Congress, and were denied, and afterwards received a handsome consideration from this State as a reimbursment of their expences and to enable them to return home, are now applying for leave to serve as vollunteers in our army. I find the first step to it is the advance of some money, the next promotion. I have informed them that I cannot assure them either; they then requested that I would ask your pleasure whether they may serve as vollunteers in our army, or not. I promised them that I would lay the matter before your Excellency. I accordingly beg leave to do it. Several others have lately arrived who have come to offer themselves to serve the American cause. It seems France is disposed to furnish us with stores and officers, but do not choose at present to make war. The gentlemen tell me that event may probably take place the next year.

We this moment have the agreeable intelligence, that Cap^t Manly and M^cNeil lately fell in with the Fox frigate of 28 guns (lately built on the new construction) off the banks of Newfound Land which they took, with the loss of seven killed. The enemy lost the same number in killed. They afterwards fell in with a 40 gun ship whom they engaged, and most probably would have taken, but a 64 gun ship bearing down upon them they were obliged to quit her. The frigate was manned from our two ships

and a number of her own hands, who immediately engaged in our service and is cruizing with them.

Col^o Putnam, who was on his march for Peek-Kill with a strong reinforcement for his regiment, met an express on the 7th instant at Springfield, informing of him that his regiment was gone for Albany. He immediately took the rout for that place.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's ob^{dt}, humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Boston, July 15th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — This will be handed to your Excellency by Monsieur D'Avaux, late a major in the French cavalry, as he informs. He came to this place in the Freedom brig of war, Captain Clouston, of this State. He has come to serve in our army, and has desired a line from me to your Excellency.

By an express yesterday from our army at the northward we are informed that a considerable number of officers and soldiers were lost in the retreat, among the former Colonels Frances and Hale.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excy. Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 15th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN, — I yesterday took a carefull survey of the state of the works at Dorchester. I find them in some places out of repair, and in others that some small

additions are necessary. A new work on an eminence situated between the Point and the fort on the eastermost hill appears to be absolutely necessary for the preserving the communication between the several forts and securing the post. Magazines in the fort and wells of water are also necessary. The continental troops at Dorchester are but few. I have given orders for endeavouring to make the necessary repairs, but expect that but little progress therein can be made with so few hands. It is my ardent wish to compleat whatever may be requisite, but it is not in my power to do what I could wish to see effected.

I would beg leave to observe to your Honors that I think there is great probability that the enemy may make inroads upon us from Rhode-Island. The present debilitated state of our army at Providence and its vicinity, to which we may add the considerable number of ships of war and merchantmen which lie in the river, cannot fail strongly to invite them to make the attempt, and if they should what is there to forbid them success? permit me to beg your attention to that quarter. I thank your Honors for the information that some of the continental soldiers are stroling home from the northern army. This is commonly the case after a retreat. I shall endeavor to apprehend and have them punished for desertion.

I am, &c.

Council.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, July 16th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yesterday afternoon a committee from the Board of War of this State presented me the

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 68-70. — Eds.

inclosed resolve of the Gen^l Assembly and estimate of stores and provisions necessary for the secret expedition to S^t Johns River, an expedition some time since recommended by the Hon. Congress, of which I doubt not your Excellency has been fully acquainted. The committee desired that I would furnish them with the whole, or so many as I could conveniently, of the enenumerated articles including arms. I informed them that I could not do it without your Excellency's knowledge or direction, but I would by the first oppertunity lay the matter before you. I request a signification of your Excellency's pleasure as soon as it is agreable. I shall direct my conduct strictly conformable thereto.

Every peice of intelligence which we recieve from the northern army is fraught with accounts more and more disagreeable of the loss of almost every species of stores. But the most agravated circumstance of all is, that many soldiers are coming home pretending that they were far pursued by the enemy, lost their arms, cloths, &c. I am endeavouring to apprehend them and have appointed a special general court martial for their tryal. I hope that some severe punishments here, and sending a number of them back in irons to their respective regiments, will put a stop to a practise both dishonorable and dangerous to the army.

Yesterday two or three of the enemy's cruizers were so near in the bay as to be seen from the town. A valluable prize is sent into Newbury Port taken by Cap^t Lee, brother to Col^o Lee. The prize has sundry articles of clothing on board, both linnen and woollens, together with liquors, provisions, &c., another prize ship is sent into Dartmouth having 530 hogsheds of sugar on board. She mounted 20 guns. It is said that 13 of our armed vessells were cruizing for 100 and odd sail of sugar ships who were under convoy of three British frigates. It is reported that the Fox frigate is retaken by a 64 gun

ship, I wish it may not be true. I have this moment received the honor of yours of the 4th instant.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your Excy. most obt. serv.

W. H.

JOHN LANGDON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PORTSMOUTH, July 19th, 1777.

SIR, — Your fav. of the 14th inst. is now before me, in conformity to which I have given orders for shipping p the first coasters the intrenching tools. I join with your Honor in thinking that there can be little or no risque p water.

I received with pleasure your congratulations, in part viz^t, the takeing of M^r Prescott, who I know well, and hope we shall oblige them to exchange General Lee. The recapture of the Fox frigate is truly humiliateing, as is also the loss of Ticonderoga, but I could have wished this fortress had been evacuated twelve months ago. As I've always conceived it would have been better to have had our army and stores at or near Albany.

I am, with every mark of esteem,
Your Honor's mo. ob^t serv^t.

JOHN LANGDON.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL BREWER.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 21st, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 3rd instant duly came to hand. I thank you for the particulars contained therein. I am sorry that you as well as we were disapointed in having so good an account of the enemy as by your letter you were in hopes of giving us. I must request to hear from you again and in as particular a manner as

your situation will admit. The people are exceeding agitated on account of the evacuation of Tyconderoga. We have not as yet obtained the particular reasons of it. I would also request that you would obtain and send me the true state of the army as to its numbers; mention in particular the strength of each regiment from this State, just observing that such a reg^t including officers consists of so many men. Request the other Colonels from this State to assist you in this matter, as I am very anxious to know on several accounts. Both you and they shall have my hearty thanks for it. I am sending on tents, camp kettles, pails, canteens, &c, and almost all kinds of military stores with the utmost dispatch for your relief. We have no special news here, save a packet has just arrived at Portsmouth from France with dispatches for Congress, said to be of great moment, and that there is a greater prospect of an immediate rupture than ever has yet been. Our frigates lately took the Fox frigate, which has since been retaken by the enemy. Present my regards to all friends, in particular to Colonels Bailey, Wesson, Marshall, and Scammel, if they are with you. Francis, I am told, is no more. Please to distinguish in your letters how many continental troops and how many militia compose your army, and let me request a letter by the first opportunity. Your last I published in the paper. It gave great satisfaction.

I am, d^r Sir, yours sincerely.

Col^o BREWER.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 23rd, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received the honor of yours of the 13th instant. I have made it an established

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 70, 71. — Eds.

rule heretofore to furnish each man marching to joyn the army with ten rounds of carteredge; in future I shall pay obedience to your Excellency's orders as expressed in your last.

The late evacuation of Tyconderoga has greatly agitated the minds of the people, and we cannot as yet hear any satisfactory reasons assigned therefor. Perhaps some as yet unknown will be given.

The night before last we were alarmed by an express from Providence informing that 40 sail of square rigged vessels were seen from Westerly comeing through the sound, supposed to be bound for Rhode-Island, with troops and that they would soon attempt a landing on the main, and requesting that aid might be immediately sent. The Council immediately issued orders for one half of the brigades of militia in the counties of Plimouth and Bristol and the one half of a number of regiments in the upper parts of the counties of Suffolk and Middlesex and lower part of Worcester to march to Providence and its vicinity. We have had no certain intelligence since, but it is said there were a number of invalids only in the fleet who were to be left at Rhode Island, and that effective troops were to be taken from thence. How far this is true, I cannot say. One Cap^t Cartwright, who has lately been exchange^d at and arrived from New York, informs us that the enemy are very sickly, that great numbers suffered exceedingly by the heat and the drinking too freely of cold water on their late retreat from the Jerseys, by which hundred were taken sick.

I hope the number [of] desertions from the northern army at and since the retreat from Tyconderoga will not be so great as was at first feared that they would be. About ten or a dozen only have as yet been apprehended and sent back under guard, eight of them in irons, which was the sentence of a gen^l court martial. The utmost endeavours are used to apprehend any others who may

have been guilty of the same scandalous conduct, but I hope the immediate and spirited measures that have been taken in this respect will prevent any thing of the kind in future.

This moment are brought to my quarters John Perry, late 1st lieut. of the Fox frigate, W^m Budsworth, 2nd d^o, Peter Burns, master, two mates, and two midshipmen. The cap^t, whose name is Patrick Fotheringham, was left on board Cap^t Manly. They say Cap^t Manly fought with great bravery, within a bisquit's throw of them, and altho we have the misfortune to loose the Fox, it is a satisfaction to find that our frigates can fight and take them.

Major Dawes has just informed me that in a few days he shall begin the building of a large magazine, laboratory, stores, &c, at Springfield, agreeable to a resolve of the Hon^{ble} Congress. The expence of the materials and workmen, he supposes, will be paid by this State and refunded by the States in general; but as there [is] a continental provision store at Springfield he desires that his artificers may draw there, as the other artificers do, as it will save trouble and expence. I would beg your Excellency's opinion whither this indulgence may be granted, or whether in every respect the whole is first to be done by this State.

I should be glad to be informed whether the prisoners taken at Quebec when Gen^l Montgomery was killed are exchanged since they came home on paroles, as some of them are desirous again to enter the service if that be the case.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excy^s, &c.

W. HEATH.

His Exy. Gen^l WASHINGTON.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SARATOGA, July 23th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am much obliged by your kind favor of the 21st instant, which I received last night at my quarters, eight miles above this, where the army is collected and where we propose to wait for the enemy; I wish I could say with any great prospect of holding the ground, which I apprehend we shall not be able to do, unless considerably reinforced. At present we have not three thousand continental troops and about thirteen hundred militia, which are daily decreasing with an alarming rapidity. Most of those from your State are gone home, and not a man from Connecticut is left on the ground.

Pray be so good as to forward on any continental troops which may be in your State, and, if possible, send back such as have left us on the retreat from Tyonderoga.

All the articles you have enumerated will be extremely welcome, especially the tents; for altho' we are at present tolerably covered with boards, yet we shall be greatly distressed if obliged to move.

The blankets came safe to hand; but we want at least four times as many to supply the troops.

You will before this have heard that the evacuation took place in consequence of a resolution of a council of general officers, founded on the extreme weakness of the garrison, the extensiveness of the works to be defended, and an insufficiency of provision. Very timely and repeated orders have been given for the latter, and frequent applications made for troops to the States that were to furnish them. A shameful tardiness has prevailed in making the levies, and one third of the few that have been sent are boys, aged men, and negroes, who disgrace our arms. Is it consistent with the Sons of Freedom to

trust their all to be defended by slaves? Every effort of the enemy would be in vain if our exertions equaled our abilities; if our virtue was not sinking under that infamous venality which pervades throughout and threatens us with ruin. America cannot be subdued by a foreign force: but her own corruption may bring on a fatal catastrophe. I am, dr Sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

PH: SCHUYLER.

Honble Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, July 30th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received the honor of yours of the 19th instant, and shall pay strict attention to its injunctions.

I have this day received a letter from Major General Putnam of the 25th instant purporting that a letter was lately intercepted going from General Howe to G. Burgoyne, intimateing that he (Howe) should soon be at Boston to co-operate with Burgoyne, and that by another express the General had just received from your Excellency you were of opinion that Philadelphia was the object of the enemy, and that dispositions were making in the army accordingly. The people here are much roused on account of the intelligence obtained from the intercepted letter, and I hope it will be productive of some good consequences. I think there is need of rousing, for too many seem only intent on amassing wealth. The sales of goods here yesterday at public auction afford but too mallancholly ideas into what difficulties a flood of money and an avericious thirst for grasping of it will involve us. Every thing sold at prises which shocked all

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 73. — Eds.

that heard of them. One article, viz., Colchester baize, which usually was sold at about 4/0^d p [yard?] sold for ten dollars, and other articles in like proportion. To day there is almost an universal exclamation against such abominable practises which, unless speedily checked, threatens the discouragment and ruin of the army.

JOHN NIXON* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SARATOGA, August 1st, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l, — This acknowledges the favour of your kind letter dated Head Quarters, Boston, 17th ultimo, in answer to which I (although in midst of tumult and hurry) would just hint to you the state and march of my brigade from the 5th July, the time I march'd from Peeks Kill to our retreat to this place. I shall not trouble your Honour with any recapitulation of matters untill after my arrival at Fort Edward, which was in 5 days from embarkation, excepting that I arrived there the same time with the flying camp of Gen^l Sinclair from Ticonderoga. The next morning I rec^d orders to march towards Fort Ann, about 7 miles, where a regiment of militia was posted under the command of Gen^l Fellows of the Berkshire militia, with orders to proceed the next day with the whole to Fort Ann, and make what discoveries I could, and to fill up the Wood Creek with trees, &c., which was effected, and on my return to finish the destruction of the road (which was before began) leading to

* John Nixon was born in Framingham, Mass., March 4, 1725, and died in Middlebury, Vt., March 24, 1815. He served under Sir William Pepperrell at the siege of Louisbourg, and ten years later was at Ticonderoga and at the battle of Lake George. He was also present at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and in the latter battle he was severely wounded. In the following year he was made brigadier-general, and took an active part in the battle of Stillwater. In 1780 he resigned from the army on account of failing health, and withdrew to private life. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 525. — EDS.

my camp, and so on to Fort Edward. I returned the next day to the place I had set out from the day before, and sent out parties to compleat the destruction of the roads, at the same time sending off scouts almost at every point of the compass; have certain and repeated intelligence of the enemy's scouting Indian parties being many and numerous. One of which I sent was Capⁿ Lane, of Alden's regim^t, with 35 men who was incircled by near 300 Indians, himself and 20 of his party taken; 13 made their escape and got into camp, and one killed. This intelligence came in yesterday by one of his party who made his escape from Ticonderoga, and who further informs, (shocking to humanity to relate) that after their arrival at Ticonderoga two of the party were designed as victims to quench the bloodthirsty savages, one of which was purchased from them by a more humane Frenchman, and the other poor fellow fell a sacrifice to their infernal appetite for blood; all this in the British camp. On Monday, the 17th, I removed the camp a mile and a half towards Fort Edward and destroyed a bridge or causway nearly that length which was in our rear, in order to obstruct the enemy if they should attempt to march with cannon to Fort Edward; and at the same time sent parties on another road, by one Hoffnayle's Mills, to effect the same purpose. This was done by order. I had forgot to mention that Fort George was evacuated the day before. This place was call'd Kingsbury. From this to the 22^d nothing extraordinary happened, at which time a large body of the enemy attack'd the advanc'd guards of my brigade, which we beat back with the loss of 10 or 11 kill'd and 7 or eight wounded. Col. Nixon's horse was shot dead from under him, and many other brave officers and men nearly shared a worse fate. How many of the enemy suffered we could not tell, but doubt not they were many. The same evening I rec^d orders to retreat with my baggage to Fort Edward, which was perform'd

accordingly. The next day Fort Edward was evacuated, after burning and destroying what might (if left) be advantageous to the enemy. In the mean while the Continental stores, &^a, were safely conveyed down the river to a place of security, Moses Creek, while my brigade with half of the Berkshire militia under the command of Col. Ashley (one half of the militia being previously disbarg'd and return'd home) at 2 miles distant from Fort Edward and 4 miles from Moses Creek, call'd Snook Kill. Major Gen^l Arnold arriv'd about this time and took the command of mine and Learned's brigades. On Monday last we were ordered to retreat to Moses Creek, where the troops under Gen^l Sinclair was posted, where after two days tarrying the whole army was order'd to this place, but not without great fatigue as well as skirmishes on our rear, in which Maj^r Clarkson (Gen^l Arnold's aid de camp) was shot in the neck, and 1 or two others kill'd and several wounded.

The baggage and stores, publick and private, is arriv'd safely here. Gen^l Glover's brigade join'd us also at this place at the same time. The whole of the northern army is now irregularly encamped on the lands of Gen^l Schuyler, and near his mansion house. What the event of our retreat from Ticonderoga to this place may be is uncertain, altho' on equal terms, it would gladden my heart to receive them. I would wish to suspend my opinion relating the evacuation of Ticonderoga, (which was the 1st cause of our retreat to this place) untill I know more of the matter. Your news papers I have seen. As to our State stores, whether they were lost or embezzled I am not able to determine, but this I can with great truth say, we have had little or none of them, nothing except one or two casks of wine and brandy, and some other smaller articles, the price of rum 8 dollars p gallon, and other necessary articles at the same rate. Of consequence we are at a very great expence to purchase what we are

in great necessity for. Be pleased to make my compliments acceptable to your lady and aids.

I have the honour to be, with esteem,

Your Honour's obedient, humb^l serv^t.

JN^o NIXON.

SAMUEL ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PHILAD., Aug^t 13th, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — The surrender of Tyconderoga has deeply wounded our cause. The grounds of it must be thoroughly inquired into. The people at large have a right to demand it. They do demand it, and Congress have orderd an inquiry to be made. This matter must be conducted with impartiality. The troops orderd for the defence of that post were chiefly from New England. It is said there was a great deficiency in numbers; and General Schuyler tells us that a third part of the army there were boys, negroes, and aged men not fit for the field or indeed any other service, that a great part of them were naked, without blanketts, ill armed and very deficient in accoutrements. Such is the picture he draws. I wish to know as soon as possible, how many men actually marchd for that place from N. E., and particularly from Massachusetts Bay; what quantity of cloathing was sent for them and under whose care, and how they were furnishd with arms and accoutrements. In short I am desirous of being informd by you as minutely as possible, of the part taken by muster masters, quartermasters, cloathiers and their agents, and all other persons employed in making and providing for the army in the northern department, as far as it has properly fallen under your notice and direction. Excuse me for giving you this trouble, and be assured that I am very cordially

Your friend.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN NIXON.

HEAD QRS., BOSTON, Augst 16th, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 1st instant, and thank you for the intelligence communicated thereby. As a sixth part of the militia of several counties in this State is drafted and marching to reinforce the northern army, I hope you will soon be able not only to maintain your ground, but also to drive back the enemy to the lakes. The barbarities of the savages which you mention, and others that I have heard of, are shocking to humanity, and disgrace those who allow them. As the country in which it is your fortune to fight this campaign is woody and the enemy have numbers of light troops and Indians you will probably be much harrassed by them, but as you have a great number of good woodsmen in the army I doubt not but you will ere long make them sick of skirmishing. The greatest attention should be paid to supporting your scouts. They should ever be backed by other parties ready to sustain them, or they will while the woods continue to swarm with Indians be much exposed to be surrounded and cut off, but if they find that you dispose your scouts in a politic manner they will soon grow discouraged, for no people perhaps are sooner elated or depressed than they. We are this moment informed of an action having happened up the Mohawk River much to our advantage. I hope it will prove true. We are also told by the same hand that Gen^l Schuyler is going to Philadelphia. I request that you would write me as often as you can find opportunity, and mention particulars; in special if you can let me know the exact strength of the army, and in particular the strength of the several regiments from this State, and where they are posted. Please to give my kind regards to the general and field officers

from this State, and all others of my particular acquaintance. We have no special news here. It is from you principally at present that we expect it. I hope it will be good.

I am, d^r Sir, yours affectionately.

W. HEATH.

Gen^l NIXON.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS * TO EZEKIEL CHEEVER.†

PITTSFIELD, Aug^t 17th, 1777.

SIR,—As an introduction to what I have to offer I inclose you the last account we have from our northern army, in the close of which you will perceive the scarcity of powder. All that we had in store which was upwards of 100 w^t went forward last night for their supply. The dishes, plates, and spoons at Bennington and many towns this side are and have been melted into ball, and I imagine that the powder left in Pittsfield is not sufficient to make an alarm and all the lead that we had in the county went up last night and notwithstanding the orders you have received from his Excellency Gen^l Washington not to deliver any more arms to the militia, yet I am confident you will judge it for the good of the service upon this emergency to deliver out, and if you cannot

* Col. William Williams was born in Weston, Mass., May 14, 1711, graduated at Harvard College in 1729, and studied medicine. For a time he was engaged in business in Boston, but on the settlement of Pittsfield about 1743 he removed to that place, where, says the historian of the town, he was "the most prominent personage in the place, holding the most important offices in town and county, sometimes being at once chief justice of the common pleas, judge of probate, colonel of militia, representative, selectman, assessor, moderator of town-meeting, clerk, and hog-reeve, besides serving on several committees." (See J. E. A. Smith's *History of Pittsfield*, p. 78.) He died in Pittsfield April 5, 1784. — Eps.

† Ezekiel Cheever, a lineal descendant of the famous Boston schoolmaster, was baptized in Charlestown May 15, 1720, where he was a selectman from 1752 to 1755. He subsequently removed to Boston, and in August, 1775, he was appointed Commissary of Artillery. He served in various capacities in the army to the close of the war. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. xxxviii. pp. 182, 183; Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, vol. iii. p. 380. — Eps.

think of a more proper person I will be accountable if you send 100 stands, also powder, lead, and flints as much as you please which I will endeavour to forward to whom you shall direct to at Bennington or elsewhere, taking out so much as has been taken from us. I imagine it is impossible but that you will answer this my request, as there is no select or committee man but what is gone forward, may [*sic*] a few squaws would take the whole town unless we have arms and ammunition.

Sir, you will please after reading the inclos^d to forward it to the commanding officer of your militia.

I am, Sir, in the utmost hast,

Your most obedient, humble serv^t.

WILL^m WILLIAMS.

Col. CHEEVER.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

BOSTON. Augst 20th, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received your favor of the 13th instant. It will be impossible for me to furnish you with the particulars which you request by tomorrow's post. It shall be done as soon as possible, and as minutely as it is in my power to do it. The evacuation of Tyconderoga in some instances still appears mysterious to me. I most heartily congratulate you on our late success near Bennington, of which you will doubtless be informed ere this reaches you.

As I shall soon write you fully, I shall at present add no more,

But that I am very respectfully, your ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. SAM^l ADAMS Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MESHECH WEARE.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Aug^t 20, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have just received a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia in which he informs me that Congress have ordered an enquirey of the reasons of the surrender of Ticonderoga. You are sensible that it has already been asserted that the garrison was few in numbers, and that a third part of these were old men, boys, and negros; that they were ill armed, clothed, &c. This gentleman has desired to be informed of the truth of these particulars. I should be much obliged to you for information, and as soon as possible, what number of men belonging to the three battalions raised by the State of New Hampshire have marched to the northward, and whether they were able bodied and how armed and cloathed. Please also to inform me how many new arms were delivered to your State, and how many of the number have been delivered the soldiery.

I congratulate you upon the success obtained by General Stark over the enemy near Bennington, of which you will be informed ere this reaches you.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

Hon^{ble} MESCHECH WEAR, Esq^r.

JOHN NIXON TO WILLIAM HEATH.GREENBUSH, y^e 25th Aug^t, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l, — I have received your favour of 16th inst^t, for which I esteem myself under great obligations to you, and shall endeavour from time to time to communicate to your Honor all occurrences.

* For a notice of Meshech Weare, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 324 n. — Eds.

As to the action up Mohawk River, which you mentioned, may be relied on, Fort Stanwix was invested with the enemy, the garrison consisted of about 700 Continental troops commanded by Col^o Gonsivort, the militia of Tryon County assembled and march'd to their assistance under the command of Gen^l Herkiman to the number of about 7 or 800, but several miles short of the fort, they fell into an ambuscade, upon which about 200 of the militia retreated. The rest stood their ground, repulsed the enemy and remained masters of the field. The loss on both sides was considerable. The enemy likewise attempted to storm the fort, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Lt Col^o Willit sallied out with about 200 men upon Sir John Johnson's camp, drive them off with considerable loss on the enemy's side, and on his return to the fort was way laid by a body of regular troops, but soon dispersed them and got safe in, without having one man either kill'd or wounded.

On the 16th inst Gen^l Starks with the New Hampshire militia, the militia of the Grants and some from the Bay, attack'd a body of the enemy consisting, as I'm inform'd, of 1,500, who was intrenched within about 7 miles of Bennington, carried their lines, drive them from their baggage and took 4 brass field peices, a medicine chest, &ca. Taken, kill'd, and wounded of the enemy is as follows, viz^t.

Taken Prisoners

1 Col^o
 1 Major
 5 Cap^{ts}
 12 Lieu^{ts}
 4 Ensigns
 2 Cornets
 1 Judge Advocate
 1 Barron
 2 Canadian Officers

Lost on our side

{ 33 Kill'd and
 { 50 Wounded

3	Surgeons
37	British Soldiers
398	Hessians
38	Canadians
151	Tories
200	Kill'd
80	Wounded
936	Total

We hear a number of the enemy has been brought in since this account came off.

Gen^l Learnard is marched with his brigade for Fort Stanwix; Gen^l Arnold is likewise gone to take the command of the whole.

I am inform'd this moment that an express is arrived from that quarter who brings advice that upon the approach of Gen^l Arnold the enemy withdrew in the greatest precipitation leaving their tents standing, and the greatest part of their baggage behind them; they retreated by the way of Wood Creek towards Oswego, and that Gen^l Arnold was in pursuit of them, and it was supposed he would be soon up with them. I will send you the particulars as soon as I can obtain them.

As to the strength of our army I can't at present give it you exactly, but will endeavour to do it in my next. We have four brigades of Continentals here, of which mine is one of the strongest. According to my return of the 16th inst I had present fit for duty 664 rank and file, and by our details for duty you may in some measure judge the strength of the rest.

Rank and file

Nixon		107
Poor		100
Patterson		79
Glover		117

We have had no militia join us at our post as yet. Col^o Morgan's reg^t of rifle men are on their way to join us from the southward, who I flatter myself will be very usefull to our army by way of scouting. We are ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march on the least notice, which I make no doubt will be towards the enemy, and I am firmly of the opinion that could the militia be prevailed upon immediately to turn out with spirit and resolution and come to our assistance we should be able very soon, with a common blessing, to render the publick a very pleasing account of M^r Burgoyne and the greater part of his army, as we have him in a very good position to attack, provided we had a suitable number of troops to do it with.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you of Gen^l Gates's arrival at Albany last Monday, and that he proceeded the next day to camp and relieved Gen^l Schuyler, agreeable to the order of the Hon^{bl} the Continental Congress. Gen^l Schuyler is retired to Albany, and it is supposed will soon repair to Congress, agreeable to their orders.

Please to make my compliments acceptable to your lady and family and all the gentlemen of my particular acquaintance.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,

Your Hon^{rs} most obedient, humble servant.

JN^o NIXON.

The Hon^{ble} Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Boston, Augst 27, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,—Agreeable to your request and my promise, I transmit you the best returns that I can obtain of the number of troops belonging to the several regiments which had marched from this State to joyn the

northern army before the first day of July last, together with the number of arms, accoutrements, blankets, and also cloathing issued for that army.

Col^o Marshall's, Frances', Brewer's and Bradford's reg^{ts} had received orders, and detachments from each had marched for Tyconderoga, to which the 15 battalions were destined, before my arrival in this State. On the 13th of March his Excellency Gen. Washington having signified his pleasure that seven regiments only should march to Tyconderoga, and the remaining eight to Peek's-Kill, I ordered Col^o Bailey's, Wesson's, and Mich^l Jackson's to march to the northward and joyn the four first mentioned.

As to the ability of body of the men I can not fully determine. The greater part that I saw appeared able, but it is more than probable that there were some men advanc'd in life, and some lads, and a number of negroes (the latter were generally able bodied, but for my own part I must confess I am neaver pleased to see them mixed with white men) but as there were muster masters appointed in each county and a deputy muster master general in the northern department, each of whom were under solemn injunctions to pass none but such as were able bodied, it would seem rather a reflection even to suggest that those gentlemen should so grossly neglect their duty as to pass men who were really unfit for service.

As to cloathing, considerable quantitys were early sent on to Bennington for the use of the northern army, and altho there were complaints for some time, I believe finally a tollerable supply were obtained for the greater part of the troops; as to blankets there were a good supply. Some of the soldiery found their own and were paid for them, numbers were procured by the committees of the several towns and delivered to the recruits raised respectively in them. Some were furnished by the State, and some from the continental store. The ninth of June

General Schuyler wrote me that there was some deficiency of blankets among the troops from Massachusetts, and also those from other States, and requesting that I would send him on three or four hundred. Having none in the continental store I immediately applied to the Council and obtained four hundred, which were sent on without the least loss of time.

As to arms and accoutrements, the troops which had marched before my arrival, I believe, found it very difficult to obtain them, as all the publick arms had been returned into the publick stores before the troops returned home the preceeding campaign, and this State had been much drained of arms. However, the officers of the several regiments purchased what they could, and some of the soldiery found their own arms, for which they had a consideration from the State. A number of old ones were drawn from the store and a number of the troops marched without, upon the presumption of finding them at Albany and Tyconderoga, where they returned them, and where they were told they might be supplied. Fortunately just at this juncture the new arms arrived from France, two thousand one hundred of which were delivered to the State of N. Hampshire and three thousand nine hundred ninty four to this State by order of Congress, so that all the troops belonging to N. Hampshire, and all that marched from this State after I took the command (except some who found their own arms, and a few old ones in good repair, short of one hundred, which were delivered from the continental store) were armed with new arms and new accoutrements. Col^o Marshall and Frances knowing of the arrival of the new arms, upon joyning their regiments and finding those who had first marched badly armed, and some entirly destitute, wrote me from Albany the 16th of April, requesting that I would send them three hundred arms. I ordered them on immediately. I am just informed by Cap^t Marshall, who is

returned from the northern army, that those regiments received them some three or four weeks before the evacuation. What number of the troops which marched from this State were at Tyconderoga at the time of the evacuation I know not. On the 25th of June Col^o Bailey and Wesson sent me returns of their respective regiments who were then at Albany. The former had then present four hundred and seven, including officers, and a deta[chment] of sixty men were then on their march to joyn the reg^t. Col^o Wesson's, including officers, was three hundred and seventy eight.

Since the evacuation of Ty at the request of General Schuyler I have sent on a large number of camp kittles, tents, duck, tin, powder, ball, flints, and many other stores.

I most heartily congratulate you on the signal success of our arms under Gen^l Stark on the 16th instant near Bennington. We expect every moment to hear something interesting from the Mohawk River. I most ardently wish an hour's conversation with you, but as that cannot be at present,

I remain, as ever, yours sincerely.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Not receiving the return expected from the State of New Hampshire, am obliged to close this letter without. As soon as it is rec^d it shall be forwarded.

HON. SAM^l ADAMS, Esq^r.

MESHECH WEARE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, August 27th, 1777.

SIR, — I received yours of the 20th inst^t and in consequence of your request inform you that by the returns of the several muster masters made between the 10th and

16th of June last, there had then been mustered, paid, and sworn one thousand four hundred and one men, for the three continental battallions to be raised as the quota of this State, after which time many more were mustered of which no return has been made; since which all those troops have marched and were at Ticonderoga long before the evacuation, deserters excepted. Col^o Langdon, the contin^l agent here, delivered General Poor fire arms sufficient for the three afores^d battallions when full; which arms were exceeding good, compleat with bayonets, and had just arrived from France. The State had them all markt and numbered, and provided belts to them for securing the bayonets. All the afores^d men received and marched with those guns, except about 40 who had gone forward before they arrived from France, and their guns were sent after them to N^o 4.

You also desire to be informed whether those troops were able bodied, and how cloathed. In answer to the first they were mustered by persons supposed to be the best judges we had in such matters, were afterwards mustered by the continental muster master at Ticonderoga, and not above three or four dismissed, as we have been informed. As to their cloathing, in general it was not so good as we could have wished, but better could not be procured, and we expected they would have received cloathing from the continent soon after their arrival in camp. Shoes, stockings, and leather breeches they did not want, as considerable quantities of those articles remained in our commissaries' store until the evacuation, and then fell into the enemies' hands. A considerable supply of shirting had likewise been sent them.

With great truth and regard,

I am, Sir, your very hum^{bl} ser^t.

MESHECH WEARE, *Chairman.*

Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BOSTON, Augst 30th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — The Council of this State have ordered the prisoners lately taken near Bennington to this place, where they intend to confine them on board guard ships which they are preparing for the purpose. I suppose they will arrive about the middle of the next week. Inclosed is a copy of a vote of Council sent to me a few days since. I have given orders for the prisoners and guards being supplied with provisions at the different stores on the rout from Springfield to this place, as it will be almost impossible to obtain them otherwise. With respect to victualing of them here, I objected to it, but upon the pressing importunity of some of the members of Council I have consented untill I can obtain your Excellency's pleasure, which I request as soon as may be agreeable to you. The scarcity of provisions here is such, especially of bread, that it is with difficulty that the inhabitants can obtain a supply. Almost every article of the necessaries of life is either really or artificially scarce and nothing plenty except money. I could wish that the prisoners were taken under the direction of the continental commissarys. It would most certainly be best.

In the late draft of the sixth part of the militia to go to the northward the towns, and individuals who were drafted, have given from twelve to forty pounds p^r man for three months, the State by their resolve have promised each man two pounds ten shillings p month over and above their continental pay. This, I fear, will not only greatly retard the filling up the continental army, but also tend to make the soldiery already inlisted very uneasy.

We have lately apprehended a number of deserters and are sending of them back ; among the rest a light horse man who deserted from the troops now doing duty with

the northern army. He not only brought home the horse on which he was mounted in the troop, but led home another which had been taken from some of the disaffected by our scouting parties.

One Woodward, alis Williams, alis Brown, an abandon'd villain who has inlisted and deserted several times and was not long since whiped 200 lashes, has again been found guilty and is now sentenced to be shot on the eleventh of Sep^r.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN NIXON.

Boston, Sep^r 1st, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—The last evening I received your kind favor of the 25th ultimo. I thank you for the intelligence communicated thereby, and hope you will soon be able to favor me with the particulars of General Arnold's success up the Mohawk River. I am not a little pleased to hear that affairs begin to wear such a pleasing and promising aspect in the northern department and hope soon to hear that you have drove M^r Burgoyne back to Tyconderoga, where I hope he will be well sweated down with fever and ague. We have little news here at present. We have apprehended and are sending back a number of deserters. Affairs on the other side of the water appear much more favorable than heretofore. The French are preparing for war. A motion has been made by a member of Parliament for a reconciliation with America. Britain, I think, will ere long be brought to her proper feelings. Give my regards to all friends, and believe me to be,

Yours sincerely.

Gen^l NIXON.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

BOSTON, Sep^r 1st, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,—I now enclose you copy of a letter which I have received since my last from the Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq^r, Chairman of the Committee of Safety for the State of New Hampshire, exhibiting the number and condition of the troops marched from that State to the northern army, and how armed and cloathed. I would only add with respect to the northern army, that the utmost attention has been paid to every requisition that has been sent to me from that quarter, and all articles in our possession or obtainable here have been immediately procured and sent on. The Council and Board of War having with the greatest chearfullness upon every application which I have made to them furnished me with such articles as were in their store.

I most heartily congratulate you on our successes on the Mohawk River, and upon the safe arival of a very vallueable cargo from Spain, among which are a large quantity of shoes, hose, blankets, shirts, hatts, duck, cables, cordage, anchors, salt, &c, and a valluable prise arrived at the eastward. Gen^l How, we are just told, has made up Chesapeak Bay so that we must now expect something interesting from your quarter.

I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your ob^t serv^t.

HON. SAM^L ADAMS.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HORATIO GATES.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sep^r 15th, 1777.

SIR,—The occasion of my writing you at this time is on account of a number of faithfull and diligent

* For notice of General Gates, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 49 n. — EDS.

officers who have expressed no small uneasiness on account of your late advertisement in the Boston papers, in which, they say, they are charged indiscriminately with loitering in Boston and other towns in Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire when they have been carefully endeavouring to discharge their duty. I therefore thought it but a peice of justice to them and to the cause to give you a true state of the matter.

His Excellency General Washington some months since directed me to send on the officers to joyn their respective corps, except so many as I thought necessary for the recruiting service. I thereupon ordered all officers, except a cap^{tn} of a reg^t and one subaltern of a company to joyn their reg^{ts}. The former was to remain at the rendezvous to receive the recruits, pay the bounties, draw their arms, accoutrements, and clothing, and forward them to camp; the latter to attend the recruiting service, and march on such detachments to the army as were from time to time arm^d, equipd, &c. The Col^{os}, I believe, generally left such officers as they confided in, as they were trusted with the money, arms and clothing for which they themselves were accountable, and many of these officers have frequently told me that they had much rather joyn their reg^{ts} than attend the recruiting service. I must therefore beg that they may not be censured, as you are fully senseable nothing can more dispirit the officer who is aiming to do his duty.

The officers are now all ordered to joyn their corps. There is scarcely a regiment from this State that is not very deficient of its complete numbers. The Assembly is determined to complete them by draft and the Hon. Congress have been pleased to order a new mode of recruiting, but in both cases it appears absolutely necessary that certain officers should be appointed to receive the recruits, see that they are armed, equiped, and marched to the army without delay. The drafts will be daily

coming in. The Assembly refer them to me. I must request that you will order such officers to receive them as you may think proper.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your ob^t, hum^{ble} serv^t.

M. Gen^l GATES.

W. HEATH.

JOHN GLOVER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

*On Public Service. Hon^{ble} William Heath, Esq^r, Major General
Commanding in Boston. John Glover.*

CAMP, 3 MILES ABOVE STILLWATER, 21st Sep^r, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have just time to inform that the 18th ins^t we march'd out with 3,000 men to attack the enemy, who were encamp'd on the heights about 2 miles from us ; found it impracticable, as they had taken an advantageous post. However, we drew up in line, in full sight of them, with a design to draw them out, and there tarried till dark, without doing any thing more. The next day Friday (y^e 19th) sent out large scouting parties, some of which fell in with those of the enemy. A brisk firing came on ; this happend about 1 o'clock. We reinforce'd till we had about 3,000 engag'd. The enemy reinforce'd till they bro^t their whole force into action, consisting of 7,000. Gen^l Burgoyne at their head, who was wounded thro' his shoulder. The battle was very hot till half past 2 o'clock, ceas'd about half an hour, then renew^d the attack, both armies seem'd determin'd to conquer or die.

One continual blaze, without any intermission till dark, when by consent of both parties it ceased, during which time we several times drove them, took the ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded, took one field piece, but the woods and brush was so thick, and being closely push'd by another part of the enemy coming up, was oblig'd to give up our prize.

The enemy in their turn sometimes drove us. They

were bold, intripid and fought like heroes, and I do assure you, Sir, our men were equally bold and courageous, and fought like men fighting for their all. We have taken about 70 prisoners, among which are two officers.

By three deserters this moment came in, we are inform'd the enemy sufferd much, having two regiments almost cut off—and that their kill'd, wounded, and missing were 700, among which is a great proportion of officers.

We have 202 wounded. Kill'd and missing 101, among which is L^t Col^s Coburn and Adams, L^t Thomas, Cap^t Allen, and Ensⁿ Foster kill'd. (Cap^t Bell mortally wounded) a considerable number more were killd whose names I have not been able to get. The scene was truly shocking to a humane, tender mind, to see the amputating of limbs (of which there were six perform'd), to hear the cries of the wounded, and groans of the dying, wallowing in their gore.—This always was and ever will be the fate of War. We sent off all our wounded to Albany yesterday, some of which died before they got there. At the same time sent all our tents and baggage 4 miles in our rear, keeping nothing to incumber us but our clothes on our backs.

The enemy are quiet at present, about one mile from us; how long they will remain so is uncertain. We are making every necessary preparation to receive them, by falling trees, and abeteeing the passes between the North River and Saratoga Lake, about 6 miles distance. The duty at present is very hard; to day on fatigue, to morrow on guard, and on picquet next day. Notwithstanding, our men are healthy and in fine spirits. Who would not be a soldier, to return home with life and laurels.

We have not been join'd yet with any militia from the Massachusetts, tho' so often requested. We hear Gen^l Lincoln has about 2,000 with him. Gen^l Gates has order'd him to join us. Wish he may get in before it's too late.

I congratulate you on the success of our arms under the command of Col. Brown, which we this day receiv'd by express from Gen^l Lincoln, and is as follows, viz., that he had taken Fort George,

with 2 cap ^{ts} 9 sub ⁿ officers	11
Non-comm ^d officers and privates of the British	143
Canadian prisoners	119
	<u>273</u>

Retook upwards of 100 of our prisoners, with 200 batteaus, 17 gun boats, 1 arm'd sloop, ammunition and some cannon, and had taken possession of the French lines at Ticonderoga, and demanded a surrender of the fort when the express came off.

I am, with respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obed. ser^t.

JOHN GLOVER.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sep^r 24th, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—The last evening I received the honor of yours of the 14th instant, and this day that of the 6th; shall forward the troops with all possible dispatch. As the regiments had no apprehensions of being called upon to march on so short notice, they are not prepared for takeing the field; but the utmost vigilance shall be exerted to prepare them. Their strength is but inconsiderable; Jackson's about 200 including officers, Lee's about 140, and Henly's not more than 30 privates. These regiments have laboured under many discouragements and have recruited but very slowly untill within a week or two past, in which time they have been more successfull than in months before; and I am fully of opinion that if the service would have admitted of their remaining here a few months longer they would have been as strong and as well disciplined as any regiments

in the army, and I should have been happy in having been ordered with them by your Excellency to any post that you might have thought proper, and the height of my ambition to have presented them to your Excellency and to have acted under your immediate direction.

I shall order the troops on fully officered in proportion to their numbers, and direct the other officers to attend the recruiting service and send on the recruits in detachments to joyn the reg^{ts}. Col^o Jackson sends his Lieut Col^o and Major, and Col^o Lee his Lieut Col^o.

Inclosed are lists of the officers of Col^o Lee's and Jackson's reg^{ts}. I would request that commissions may be filled as soon as may be agreeable to your Excellency for those officers who march with the first division of the respective regiments, and that they may be sent to Peek's-Kill to General Putnam, where the officers will call and take them, as they appear extremely reluctant to be called into the field without them, which I think your Excellency will not be surprised at. The other commissions I would beg may be sent here, as proposed by your Excellency in your letter of the 6th instant.

Having wrote to the Board of Treasury at Philadelphia at the same time that I wrote to your Excellency, on the subject of the expedition to St John's they (the Board) have wrote me to make the officers and soldiers engaged in that service payment.

We are impatiently waiting to hear something very interesting from your quarter; we have frequently agreeable accounts from the northward and from present accounts I think Gen^l Burgoyne will meet a total defeat.

Two vallueable prizes are just sent to an eastern port, deeply laden with English goods. The sterling cost of one of the cargoes amounts to £30,000.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most ob^t, hum^{ble} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN GLOVER.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sep^r 29th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — The last evening I received your favor of the [21st] instant,* for which I thank you. I feel for you under the many fatigues and hardships which I know you do and must endure and pray God to preserve your life and return you with laurels to your friends. I ardently wish to be with you.

I am surprised that no militia from this State have as yet joyned you, when so many have been orderd on. I think the present a most fortunate oppertunity for destroying M^r Burgoyne's army. You tell me Gen^l Lincoln is ordered to joyn Gen^l Gates; would he not be of more advantage to hang on the flank or rear of the enemy: nothing is more disagreeable to an army than to have troops so posted in their rear or on their flanks, but they ought to be so near the main body that mutual support and succour may be afforded, otherwise the enemy's whole force may attack and defeat one part before the other can attack so as to give assistance by diverting the enemy's force.

I think Col^o Brown's is a very pritty affair. I wish he may succeed and get possession of the forts.

We are momentarily waiting to hear some very important event from the southward. There undoubtedly has been another action there before this time. On the 16th the armies were again very near and nothing but a storm of rain prevented a general action. Col^o Lee's, Henly's, and Jackson's reg^{ts} are ordered on immediately to joyn Gen^l Washington's army. I hope ere long to give you some news from this quarter, as a secret expedition is just undertaken; about 3,000 men drafted from this State for one month, a number from Connecticut and Rhode-Island,

* See *ante*, p. 156. — Eds.

and yesterday Col^o Crafts' regiment of State artillery marched from Boston with four brass field peices and one iron 8 inch howitzer.

Two vallueable prises are lately sent into Marble Head, laden with English goods; the sterling cost of one of the cargoes amounts to £30,000.

Let me beg a line from you whenever an opportunity offers. Wishing you the divine assistance, success, and victory,

Believe me to be yours sincerely.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Please to present my best regards to the other Generals and Colonels of my acquaintance.

Gen^l GLOVER.

JOHN NIXON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Octob^r 3^d, 1777. Hon^{ble} Maj^r Gen^l Heath, Boston.

CAMP, BEMUS'S HEIGHTS, Octo^r 1st, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l,—I received your agreeable letter of y^e 22^d ulti. and am rejoiced to hear of the good success our privateers meet with. It gives me pleasure to acquaint you of the high spirits and comfortable circumstances our army is in at present, and hope in a short time to give a good account of M^r Burgoyne. An account of the late action I trust you have received before this, and believe M^r Burgoyne is something sick of his last tryal for Albany, as they are pretty still at present. Deserters are daily coming in who give an account of the dissatisfaction of the Hessians and aversion to fighting. By account, the morning of the action they beat up for volunteers. in which five turn'd out, two of whom were kill'd and three wounded.

The 62^d Regiment of British march'd three hundred and eighty into the field, and brought of one hundred and

one, the rest kill'd, wounded, and missing. Two other regiments suffer'd much the same loss. The loss on our side amounts to three hundred and seventeen kill'd, wounded, and missing: viz., sixty four kill'd, officers included, thirty six missing, and two hundred and seventeen wounded.

I hope e'er long to have it in my power to transmit to you accounts more agreeable. In the mean time I shall rest

Your most obed^t, humb^l serv^t.

JN^o NIXON.

JOHN GLOVER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMP, 3 MILES ABOVE STILLWATER, Oct^r 9th, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l, — This will acknowledge the rec^t of yours of the 29th ult^o and will inform you that on Tuesday last the enemy advanc'd from their right with a design to take post on our left. Our scouts were drove in. They continued advancing. Three regiments were order'd out who met them a mile from our lines, a small eminence being between them; each push'd hard for it. Our troops gain'd it. The attack began at 4 o'clock, P. M., continued till dark without any intermission, during which we drove them two miles, and at last enter'd their works sword in hand. In the action and in their works were taken two brass 12 p^{drs} and six 6 p^{drs}, 3 ammunition waggons, about 300 tents, a great quantity of baggage, with upwards of 30 horses, waggons, &c, &c.

It now became very dark, could not persue them any further, nor was it safe or practicable, the woods being very thick. We halted about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in the rear of them; there remain'd the whole night with our arms in our hands, not a man slept. About 4 in the morning they began to move, we push'd on till they were drove into their strong works on the river road. Skirmishing parties were sent out the whole day; some prisoners taken, some

kill'd and wounded on our side. Among the wounded is the good Maj. Gen^l Lincoln, shot thro' the leg. Wish he may save it, but it's much doubted. The brave Gen^l Arnold was wounded in the action the day before.

As we have not been able to get in returns, cannot give you a particular account of our loss; however, it's very inconsiderable. I believe I may venture to say not more than 30 killd, nor more than 100 wounded. The enemy's loss on Tuesday must be great, Gen^l Fraizer wounded (since dead). Taken prisoners 3 field officers, 6 cap^{ts}, 10 sub^{ns}, 1 q^r mas. gen^l, 190 privates. Taken in the hospital on Wednesday about 300 sick and wounded, with some medicines. 200 barr^{ls} flour, with many other articles. Besides these upwards of 100 now laye dead on the ground, which we have not been able to bury. Much honour is due to our officers and men who fought like heroes. The enemy began their retreat 11 o'clock at night, breaking up all the bridges and otherwise spoiling the roads in their rear.

Thursday morning 300 men, servd with 3 days provision, began their march, to hang on their left flank (the river being on their right) and [*blotted*] brigades on the river road in their rear, but could not proceed, as it set in full of rain and so continues. Shall push on immediately on it's clearing up, when I hope to give you a further acco^t of them.

Till then, I am y^r Hon^{rs} most obed^t ser^t.

JOHN GLOVER, *B. General.*

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, Oct^r 22nd, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am now to acknowledge the honor of the receipt of yours of the 30th ultimo and 8th instant.

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letter of October 25 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 77, 78. — EDS.

We have this moment received the agreeable news of General Burgoyne's surrendering himself and army prisoners on the 17th instant to General Gates. On this happy event I beg leave most heartily to congratulate your Excellency. I find by the articles of capitulation that Burgoyne's army is to be sent to this vicinity. I conceive that if they are kept near this place a considerable body of troops will be necessary for guards during their continuance here, and several precautions necessary if the fleet of transports who are to take them off are to come into the harbour, and wish a signification of your pleasure thereon. I submit to your Excellency whether it will not be highly expedient for one at least of the continental deputy commissaries general of prisoners to repair this way immediately.

Col^o Lee's, Henly's, and Jackson's reg^{ts} (altho weak) are on their march to joyn your Excellency; I imagine the former has before this time reached Hudson's River.

With respect to the arms reserved for the before mentioned regiments, in obedience to your Excellency's order expressed in your letter of the 23rd of May, I retained arms sufficient for them. This I mentioned to the Board of War (to whom I make monthly returns of the stores) in my letter to them of the 11th of Augst, but finding that those regiments filled but slowly, and the demand for arms, both to the northward and southward, very great, I ventured to send three hundred of those which I had reserved to Gen^l Gates upon a pressing application, which if I mistake not I mentioned to your Excellency in a former letter, and some time since upon a demand for a large number to be sent to Philadelphia under the care of Major Nicholas, I sent four hundred to him while at Springfield. Col^o Lee has drawn 200 arms; Col^o Henly 60; Col^o Jackson 300. By the commissaries' return the first of this instant there were then 512 in the store; part of Henly's have been delivered since. As there are

some recruits daily coming in I shall retain about two cases of the arms now in store in order to arm them, and send the others on immediately to Springfield, hoping that this state of facts will be satisfactory to your Excellency. I have endeavoured to pay the utmost attention to the service in general as far as has been in my power.

Numbers of soldiers are returning here from the northern army, some wounded in action, others rendered unfit for service by reason of casualties which have befallen them in the service. They return with recommendations to the corps of invalids. The number of these is daily increasing; I know not what to do with them. They shrink at the mention of repairing to the State of Pennsylvania to joyn that corps, and seem rather inclined to suffer than go so great a distance from their friends in such maimed conditions. I beg leave to submit to your Excellency whether the forming part of the corps of invalids in some part of New England would not tend more to relieve many of the unfortunate, and also would promote the service, as the sending of them so great a distance.

I cannot close without mentioning to your Excellency the state of our provisions. In consequence of the early and assiduous attention to this important object the last year great benefit accrued to the publick in the cheapness and ampleness of the supplies. The large quantities of salted meat which were stored in this quarter, besides answering the ordinary demands of the army, have afforded a seasonable releif to the northern army and the numerous militia which have assembled at Providence and thereabouts. Our stores are now in a fair way to be soon exhausted, and no steps effectually taken that I can learn to replenish them, the season now arrived when the beef is at the cheapest and the largest quantitys killed for salting. If the season which lasts about six weeks is neglected the price will then be enhanced, after those

whose pockets are full of money have availd themselves of the best opportunity for their own emolument. Duty leads me to mention this to your Excellency, as I am confident the service will be injured if this matter is neglected.

Eight or ten thousand militia have assembled during this month at Providence and its vicinity, from this State, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island for the secret expedition, as it has been all along called, and it has been so much of a secret to me that I cannot as yet learn whether it was sit on foot by Congress, your Excellency, or the three States who furnish the men. I have enquired of divers members of both Houses of Assembly here who informed me they knew not where it originated. The time for which the men are engaged expires in a few days. They will immediately apply for payment. I beg to be informed whether this expense is to be Continental, and the troops paid off as usual, that I may govern myself accordingly.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 25th, 1777.

DEAR GEN^L, — We find by the destination of the prisoners of General Burgoyne's army to this neighbourhood a wide and difficult field opening to us, to provide quarters, provisions, fuel, &c — 5 or 6000 men — will be no small task. The Assembly suppose them to be under my direction and have advised that they be placed in the barracks on Prospect and Winter Hill, Cambridge, and Sewall's Point, and indeed I do not see where else they can be quartered, if they are to remain together and near this place. I have applied for 1,000 or 1,200 men for guards, and am determined on the one hand to treat them with politeness and humanity and on the other with precaution and strict order. But must intreat your Excel-

lency's endeavours to facilitate their removal as soon as possible, as their continuance for any considerable time will greatly distress the inhabitants, both as to provisions and fuel, especially the latter. Wood is now twelve and fourteen dollars p^r cord on the wharves, and the inhabitants cannot obtain a supply at that price. So many of the coasters are taken by the enemy's cruisers that they are become very unwilling to run the risk of falling into their hands. I submit to your Excellency the propriety and expediency of obtaining a protection from Lord Howe for such a number of vessels as may be thought necessary to supply the prisoners from the eastern country. If some such method cannot be devised, I do not at present see how it can be obtained. I have wrote to Congress on the subject, and would also request your Excellency's direction as soon as may be convenient to you. As soon as the disposition of and regulations for the prisoners are made I will transmit them to your Excellency. It will be necessary if practicable to convey a quantity of flour this way.

I have the honor to be with

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Boston, Oct^r 25th, 1777.

SIR, — By the late happy success of our army at the northward, and the destination of the prisoners to this vicinity, a large and difficult field opens it self to us, — to provide quarters, provisions, fuel, &c, for five or six thousand men at this time of scarcity and the enhanced price of all the necessaries of life will be no small task.

With respect to quarters the Assembly have advised that the barracks on Prospect and Winter Hill, Cambridge, and Sewall's Point be assigned for that purpose,

and I do not see where they can be better disposed of, if they are to remain near this place. But large guards and much precaution will be indispensably necessary and many difficulties unavoidable. Provisions, I hope, will be obtained without much difficulty, unless their stay should be long. I would intreat that Congress would endeavour to facilitate their removal as soon as possible for many obvious reasons. The obtaining of fuel will be attended with much trouble; wood is now at the price of twelve and fourteen dollars p^r cord and the inhabitants cannot obtain a supply. Congress will be sensible that this extra demand will be great, and the inhabitants will suffer, unless some mode can be devised for the obtaining a supply from the eastward. So many of the coasters have been taken that they can be scarcely prevailed upon, to run the risk. I beg leave to submit to the wisdom of Congress the propriety and expediency of obtaining a protection from Lord Howe for such coasters as may be employed in this business. Without some step of this kind I fear we shall be much embarrassed. I would beg the direction of Congress as soon [as] may be, as interest and policy as well as duty require a strict attention to the articles of Convention, and I dare say they will claim them to an iota. As the Assembly suppose the prisoners are under my direction I would request that one or more of the continental dy. commissaries gen^l of prisoners should be sent on here immediately.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the importance of replenishing our stores with provisions. I lately wrote to the Hon. Board of War and Ordnance on the subject, but as that letter was before Gen^l Burgoyne's army fell into our hands the necessity doubles. I am just informed that there are no purchases of provisions makeing either in this State or Connecticut; this I suppose is oweing to the late change of commissaries, — the new officers not having as yet begun to act, but the season for the most

ample and cheapest supply will soon be over; the consequences are obvious.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Honor's most ob^t, hb^{le} serv^t.

Indorsed: Letter to President of Congress respecting Genl. Burgoyne's coming to Boston.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS CHASE.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 27th, 1777.

SIR, — You will with all possible dispatch make every necessary preparation for the reception of the prisoners lately taken by the army under the command of Major Gen^l Gates and such troops as may be order'd to guard them. The prisoners are to be quartered on Prospect and Winter Hill; the guards on Bunker's Hill and at N^o 2 in Cambridge, and perhaps some in those called Patterson's. The barracks you will direct to be put in order immediately. Fuel is a most important object and demands your every attention without the least delay. Straw is also an article that must not escape your notice. The utmost exertions are necessary.

I am, Sir, your ob^t serv^t.

WILLIAM HEATH TO CHARLES MILLER.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 27th, 1777.

SIR, — As the prisoners lately taken by Major General Gates may be soon expected at Cambridge, where they are to remain for some time, I desire you would immediately take all such steps as may be necessary for their subsistence during their continuance in this State, or untill you are releived by some other persons who may be

* Col. Thomas Chase was a Deputy Quartermaster General. He died in Boston May 17, 1787. — EDS.

appointed or sent for that purpose. You will take such stores as may be necessary for depositing and issuing the provisions; whatever teams you may stand in need of are to be supplied by the D^y Q. M. G. You will order the purchase of such fresh provisions as may be wanted. You will immediately order such supplies of bread to Worcester and Sudbury as you may think proper, and a number of fat cattle to the neighbourhood of Cambridge. The hides of all cattle killed for the service of the United States are to be reserved for their use. You will apply for such drafts of money as may be needfull for the purposes aforesaid. Confiding in your abilities and integrity I submit other matters to your own direction as you are fully acquainted with every thing necessary and the several duties of your own department.

You will procure such assistance as may be necessary upon the best terms possible untill you are releived by the new commissaries.

Yours, &c.

To CHARLES MILLER, Esq^r,
D^y C. Provis.

RICHARD PETERS * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WAR OFFICE, YORK TOWN, Oct^r 30^h, 1777.

SIR, — I have the honour to enclose you by direction of the Board of War the resolve of Congress relative to the establishment of a corps of invalids. As the Board are impressed with the same ideas relative to this matter which you have mentioned in your letter of the 9th instant, they have thought it very proper that you should collect as many of the invalids in the State of Massachusetts as are capable of duty and incorporate them under officers who may have been wounded in the service, sending the names of such officers to the Board for their

* For notice of Richard Peters, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 82 n. — Eds.

approbation and appointment. This corps you will employ on such duty as they are fit for under the regulations pointed out by the resolve of Congress. You will please to observe that these invalids are to be considered as a detachment of the reg^t the command whereof is given to Col. Lewis Nicola and therefore no officer higher than a captain should be appointed for the present, the other field officers being yet to be filled up by Congress with such worthy officers as may have suffered or shall be disabled in the service.

I have the honour to be, your very obed. serv^t.

Hon. Major Gen^l HEATH.

RICHARD PETERS, *Sec^y*.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 31st, 1777.

SIR, — The two vallueable cargoes of wollen cloths lately sent, the one into Newbury Port, the other into Salem, I am informed are of a proper quality for soldiers' clothing and sufficient to make nine or ten thousand suits. The owners are desirous that the Continent should have the prefferance of the purchase, they giving as high a price as others. Knowing the extreme wants of the army I thought it my duty to communicate the matter to Congress without the least delay, and will endeavour to have the goods retained untill their pleasure is signified. The prices of the goods will undoubtedly be high, but will be much enhanced if they get into the hands of the merchants. A large number of shoes may also be procured, but the clerks in the continental store inform me (the agents being absent) they are restricted to 20/ p^r pair, for which they cannot be purchased.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Honor's ob^t serv^t.

Hon. President of Congress.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 2nd, 1777.

SIR, — The destination of Gen. Burgoyne's army to this vicinity, and the guards necessary to keep them in order, requiring a large supply of provisions for their subsistence, obliges me to crave your permission to Major Ruggles to purchase and drive from your State a number of fat cattle for that purpose. Your favor will serve the publick cause, and oblige him who has the honor to be

Your Excellency's ob^t, hum^{bl} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gov^r TRUMBULL.

JOHN GLOVER TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SPRINGFIELD, Nov^r 2, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 29 ult^o I have before me, am happy to find such steps have been taken as will supply the prisoners till they get to the place where they are to be canton^d.

I have order^d on from Kenderhook 100 barr^l of flour, the greatest part of which is arriv^d at this place, 1,500 bb^r more will be on as soon as the roads will permitt.

I expect to be at Cambridge on Thursday, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing your Honor, and finding quarters prepar^d for the Gen^s Burgoyne, Phillips, Hambleton, Riedesel, and his two Brigadier Generals. If houses for the Germain Gen^s can be found in Medford, it will be more convenient than Cambridge. The second division of British troops leaves Brookfield on Monday morning; it's probable will be in Cambridge on Wednesday. The Germans will leave Western the day after,

and may be at Winter Hill on Thursday, where I hope straw, wood, &c, will be provided for their comfort.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your most obed^t, hum^l serv^t.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

JOHN GLOVER.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ASSEMBLY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

BOSTON, November 6th, 1777.

SIR, — The Committee of both Houses of Assembly appointed to procure houses for General Burgoyne and his general officers, and suitable rooms for his other officers of rank, and to establish the limits for the officers and privates in General Burgoyne's army and limits to prevent the inhabitants from coming to the prisoners, have attended that service, and agreeable to your desire we agreed with M^r Robert Temple for his house for General Burgoyne, after which you advised us to omit that and to procure M^r Inman's house. We then told you we understood Doctor Warren had taken M^r Inman's house for a hospital, on which you assured us that should not hinder our taking it for the General, and advised us to procure it. Accordingly the next morning we went and agreed with a tenant living in said house that General Burgoyne should come there, and then discharged M^r Temple's house, and since which we are informed that by your order Doctor Warren has taken said house for a hospital, and the tenant now refuses to let the General have it and assigns the above as a reason for his refusal. Now, Sir, the Committee are determined to take no further steps relative to procuring a house for General Burgoyne. We are of opinion it is intirely owing to you that the Committee have had so much trouble and all proves abortive, and we expect you will yet put General Burgoyne into Inman's house. Sir, you informed the Committee that three or four houses would be sufficient

for the other general officers and that you had officers' barracks sufficient for the field and other officers, since which the Committee have obtained the following houses in Charlestown for the general officers; viz^t, Mr Phillabrown's, the Widow Rand's, the Widow Prentice's, except the west chamber, in Mr Hunnewell's house two front rooms and one chamber, and one half of Mr Adam's house which is full equal to what you said would be enough, and they are not only the best we could obtain near where the troops are to be quartered, which the Articles of Convention require, but they are such as the Committee judge quite sufficient. And agreeable to the order of the two houses we have also agreed that the outside bounds for the non commissioned officers and privates shall be the line of centry boxes, if placed where you informed the Committee they should be. And that the inhabitants shall not pass any nearer to the camp than the line of stakes placed or immediately to be placed about thirty yards distance from the centry boxes; also we have determined that the General and other officers shall not exceed the following bounds on any pretence whatever, viz^t, Beginning at Charlestown neck at Mr Swan's shop, from thence the road leading toward Cambridge till it comes to a middle road beyond Mr Piper's tavern, thence up said road till it intercects the road leading from Medford to Cambridge, thence the right hand road by the powder house, and so on till it meets the road leading from Medford to Charlestown, thence by that road to the first mentioned place, and all within them limits, also the lane to Innan's house near Mr Codman's and the whole of Innan's farm and no more.

We are, Sir, with due respect yours,

JOHN TAYLOR,	{ <i>Committee</i> <i>of y^e two</i> <i>Houses of</i> <i>Assembly.</i>
THO ^s CRANE,	
ISRAEL HUTCHINSON,	

Major General HEATH.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

LEBANON, 7th Nov^r, 1777.

SIR, — Major Ruggles has this moment deliver'd me yours of the 2^d; I have given him a permit for seventy cattle at this time, and shall delay giving any thing further till the return of my son the late Comm^y Gen^l, who is appointed Commissary Gen^l of provisions, &c, for this State, and consequently should be consulted in an affair of this kind.

The hides I choose should be reserv'd for *this State, not for the Continent*, as I find after all the parade the soldiery of this State are almost totally barefooted.

I am, Sir, your most obed^t, humble servant.

JONTH TRUMBULL.Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS CHASE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 7th, 1777.

SIR, — You will immediately obtain proper houses upon the best terms you can for the accommodation of Lieut. General Burgoyne, Major Gen^l Phillips, Major Gen^l Riedesel, Brig^r Gen^l Hamilton, and two German Brig^r Generals. having proper regard to their rank, after which you will if possible accomodate the field officers with proper rooms if attainable; you will procure the houses between Charlestown neck and Lt. Governor Oliver's house on the Water Town road; in the body of the town of Cambridge on the Menotomy road, any where on this side Cooper's tavern; or on the road from Cambridge to Medford any where on this side the stone magazine; or on any of the intermediate roads within the before mentioned outlines. You will wait on Gen^l Burgoyne and acquaint him with this my order and full determination to do all in my power to make his situation as easy and agreeable as

circumstances will admit, and in every instance strictly adhere to the Convention.

I am, Sir, your ob^t serv^t.

Col^l CHASE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM R. LEE.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 7th, 1777.

SIR, — You will immediately repair to Cambridge and take the command of all the troops doing duty there, whether continental or militia in continental service; you will order such guards to be mounted this night as you may think necessary for the safety of the place, and keeping the prisoners in proper order. In short you will exercise your best discretion in establishing order and regularity at that post. The Deputy Adjutant General will acquaint you with the orders already issued, others shall be communicated to you as occasion may require. The soldiery are to be kept strictly within the limits assigned them, and the officers to their quarters untill they have given their paroles.

I am, &c.

Col. W. R. LEE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 11, 1777.

GENT^l, — The unhappy and disgraceful situation of Gen^l Burgoyne and his officers is the only reason that constrains me again to write you on the subject of provid-

* Col. William R. Lee was born in Manchester, Mass., in 1744, and died in Salem Oct. 26, 1824. At an early age he removed to Marblehead, and engaged in business, becoming widely known as an active and patriotic citizen. On the breaking out of the war he entered the army, and served with distinction down to August, 1778, when he resigned to give personal attention to his private affairs. From 1802 until his death he was collector of the port of Salem. See Bugbee's *Memorials of the Mass. Society of the Cincinnati*, p. 328; *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, vol. ix. p. 644; *Roads's History of Marblehead*, *passim*. — EDS.

ing them with proper quarters. I would acquaint your Honours that ever since your order of the 7th instant my quarter master has exerted himself to the utmost of his power to procure suitable accommodations, but without effect.

The officers now begin to appear disgusted, as your Honors will observe by the enclosed; and without speedy redress the unfavorable impressions will have taken too deep root to be easily eradicated.

The honor of the State is in danger, the publick faith responsible, circumstances will no longer admit of delay, decisive measures must be immediately adopted; and I cannot conceive of any so effectual as the appropriation of at least one of the Colleges. To your Honors' wisdom it must be submitted, as the means are not in my power, without offering violence to the rights of the Constitution, which I wish ever to hold sacred.

I am, &c.

Hon. Council.

ACTION OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

At a meeting of the Corporation call'd by Doct^r Appleton by the recommendation of the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Board of Overseers (the President being out of the State):

November 14th, 1777.

A vote of the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Board of Overseers recommending to the Corporation to consent that one or more of the buildings of the College be allow'd to the officers of Gen^l Burgoyne's army till they can otherwise be properly accommodated with quarters being read, and the Corporation, taking it into their most serious consideration, cannot but be sensible of the many very great difficulties and hazards to the interest of the college that must be incur'd by such a measure, of which they doubt

not that the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Board are equally sensible, as they propose the measure from the necessity of it, and from an apprehension that proper quarters for said officers cannot be obtain'd in any other way: but the Corporation now finding that there is a fair prospect of obtaining such quarters in private houses of the town of Cambridge, as appears by a representation of Mr Hall, one of their members, laid before them, cannot but hope that the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Board will be of opinion that the ground upon which their recommendation stands is now in a great measure, if not wholly, remov'd. Nevertheless, to demonstrate their readiness to comply with evry recommendation of the Board and to promote the public honor, peace, and safety, the Corporation consent that the house lately purchased by them for the residence of the students, containing 12 rooms, be employ'd to the abovementioned purpose, upon reasonable terms, in case it cannot be otherwise accomplish'd.

NATH^l APPLETON,

Senior Fellow of y^e Corporation.

Copy, attest.

ANDREW ELIOT,

Sec^{ry} to the Board of Overseers.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 18th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN, — By the regulations established for the government of the troops of the Convention it is among other things expressed, “That the Officers shall be supplied with liquors at the market price untill they can be procured by themselves from the town of Newport on the island of Rhode Island, or such other place as may be fixed upon for that purpose.” Lieut Gen^l

Burgoyne is now applying for permission to procure liquors accordingly. I would beg the advice of the Hon. Council on this matter in what way the liquors may best be permitted to be brought into this State, and whether it can be done without an infraction on the Resolves of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress.

I would beg leave just to subjoin that the officers are still extremely uneasy as to their quarters. Gen^l Burgoyne the last Saturday demanded a pasport for an officer to proceed to his Excellency General Washington and to Congress to represent to them that the Convention was broken as to quarters. I granted his request, but desired him to defer sending untill this day, by which time I was in hopes proper quarters would be provided. He will, I suppose, this afternoon pursue his resolution of sending his express. I most sincerely wish that the matter might be accommodated, and it appears to me that it might be easily done. I was informed the last evening that it was reported that near ninty rooms could be obtained, and that it would be needless to take any part of the Colleges, but, if every room from the garrits to the seller are counted in those houses allotted to the gen^l officers, as there are 12 in the house occupied by Gen^l Burgoyne and his suit, more than one half of the ninety rooms pretended to be procured will be those of the gen^l officers, and we shall but deceive our selves by such enumeration of quarters.

I think it my duty to transmit your Honors the inclosed complaint of several British officers, that your Honors may take such measures as to you in your wisdom may appear proper.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully.

Hon^l Council.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HENRY LAURENS.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 19th, 1777.

SIR, — I have to acknowledge the honor of the receipt of yours of the 8th instant inclosing a resolve of the Hon. Congress relative to the officers and soldiery of the Convention, which I shall endeavour to carry into effect and transmit to the Board of War and Ordnance as soon as possible.

General Burgoyne with the principle part of his officers are quartered in the town of Cambridge; the British soldiery on Prospect; and the foreign on Winter Hill. Nither officers or soldiers are permitted to come to this town.

I have been not a little embarrassed in the Commissaries' Department. Upon the troops of the Convention being destined to this State I desired the old issuing commissarys to continue untill the new ones arrived, to which they had consented. But Col^o Trumbull, the late Commissary Gen^l, coming to town discharged all his assistants, forbidding them any longer to issue under him. He also acquainted me that by the orders of Congress he was directed to deliver all provisions in his hands belonging to the Continent to the D^y Commissary General of Issues, and that he could not deliver them otherwise. In this situation (having between six and seven thousand men to victual, including the troops of the Convention, the guards and prisoners of war) I was obliged to take the provisions by express orders, certifying that it was without his consent, and to appoint commissarys to issue them untill the new commissaries should arrive. We are still in the same situation, and I must intreat Congress to

* It is a noteworthy circumstance that General Heath was ignorant of the Christian name of President Laurens, and could not decipher his very peculiar signature. The letter from Laurens of November 8 is indorsed "Letter from Congress," and the address at the foot of this letter is incorrect. For a notice of Laurens, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 238 n. — Eds.

appoint or order on such commissaries as they may think proper, and to adopt such measures as may effectually secure both myself and the late Commissary in the before mention'd instances founded on the extreme necessity of the case.

I shall be happy in having a signification of the pleasure of Congress, with respect to my general conduct with the troops of the Convention, in case of the arrival of transports to take them off, &c. For should they be delayed it may create uneasiness.

I am constrained to mention the state of our pay office, which is exhausted by the great and continued expence of purchasing stores of almost every kind and transporting them to the differant departments of the army, and which is now surprisingly increased by the purchases of provisions, fuel, and other extra expences occasiond by the troops of the Convention. Mr Hancock, the D^y Paymaster Gen^l, informs me that he has twice wrote to Congress. I beg that a supply may be ordered as soon as possible in such way as Congress may think proper.

The service absolutely requiring a D^y Adjutant Gen^l for this department I have been obliged to appoint Major Keith, my senior aid de camp to do that duty, and beg the approbation of Congress.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your Honor's ob^t serv^t.

Hon. ART. LAWRENS, Esq.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE CORPORATION OF HARVARD
COLLEGE.

HEAD Q^{RS}, BOSTON, NOV^r 19, 1777.

REV^d SIRS, — The Hon^{ble} Council of this State by an order of yesterday have directed that the rooms in Massa-

chusetts Hall should be taken up for the accommodation of the officers of Gen^l Burgoyne's late army, if rooms sufficient for their accommodation cannot be procured in the dwelling houses in the town of Cambridge. The latter after repeated endeavours appears impracticable. I would therefore request that you will be pleased to give directions to the students in Massachusetts Hall to remove their effects as soon as possible. It is with great reluctance that I ask this favor, and nothing but necessity could induce me to do it.

I am, Sir, your most obed^t servant.

Rev^d Fellows of Harvard College.

FACULTY OF HARVARD COLLEGE TO THE COUNCIL OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Hon^{ble} Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

20th Nov^r, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS, — An order of the Hon^{ble} Council of this State (accompanied with a letter from Major General Heath) has been communicated to the immediate governors of Harvard College. The order “authorizes Major Gen^l Heath to take up such and so many rooms in one of the Colleges, viz., Massachusetts Hall, as will be necessary to accommodate the officers belonging to Gen^l Burgoyne's army, now prisoners in the town of Cambridge; *provided* he cannot procure rooms sufficient for the accommodation of the s^d officers in the dwelling houses within the limits prescribed for the officers aforesaid; and *provided* also the s^d officers that shall be quartered in the rooms in the College will be answerable for all the damages that shall accrue to the College, by reason of their being placed there, and pay reasonable rent for the same. And Gen^l Heath is desired

to give due notice to the immediate governors of Harvard College, or the major part of them, that the students may have sufficient time to move their effects therefrom, and secure the same."

Upon which we, the major part of the immediate governors of Harvard College, beg leave to observe that the students are not to remove their effects, but only in consequence of the *provisos* above specified. With regard to the *first* proviso, we think it our duty to acquaint the Hon^{ble} Board that it appears from a schedule laid before us by Mr Hall, who was desired by a committee of the Council to procure rooms, that he has already engaged a greater number of rooms than was proposed as necessary. With regard to the *second* proviso, we are at a loss to know whom the Hon^{ble} Board supposes these officers are to be answerable to for the damages that may accrue to the College, and with whom they are to agree for the rent to be paid. We conceive that we have no authority to transact affairs of this nature. The College estate is vested in the Corporation as trustees; and we are humbly of opinion that every matter relating to that estate lies with the Corporation. As to the students removing their effects, and, what must be the immediate consequence, returning to their respective homes, we humbly apprehend that it cannot be done upon very short notice without subjecting the students to great difficulties. Most of them cannot do it without assistance from their parents, several of whom live at considerable distances.

All of which is humbly submitted.

J. WINTHROP.

E. WIGGLESWORTH.

STEPHEN SEWALL.

S. HALL.

JA^s WINTHROP.

BENJ^A GUILD.

At a meeting of the immediate governors of Harvard Colle., 20th Nov^r, 1777.

Voted, that Mr. Hall be desired to wait upon the Hon^{ble} Council and lay before them the schedule of the rooms already provided, and the foregoing representation; and also wait on Gen^l Heath with copies of the same.

J. WINTHROP, *p order*.

Copy Examined.

Attest, J. WINTHROP.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 21st, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am now to acknowledge the honor of the receipt of yours of the 22nd ultimo and 5th instant. In consequence of the former I directed Major Barber to purchase up what lead he could find in this town or its vicinity. He soon informed me that he had purchased ten tons, six of which were some days since forwarded to Springfield. The remainder will follow immediately. Mr Jarvis, agent to the artillery department, has also purchased a quantity, and Cap^t Bradford has a quantity in his hands here, at Mendon, and Dartmouth; what there is in his hands, with that purchased by Major Barber and Mr Jarvis, will make between forty and fifty tons. It shall be forwarded to Springfield with all possible dispatch. The price, like that of all other articles, is exorbitantly high. That which we have purchased has cost nine and ten pounds p hundred. There is still a quantity at Salem and Newbury for which they ask £15. The Board of War and Ordnance have just directed Cap^t Bradford to purchase up all he can, and have directed my assistance, to which I shall pay strict attention.

Col^o Lee's and Jackson's commissions came safe to hand. Seventy or eighty five recruits for those regiments

will be forwarded as soon as they can be clothed and got ready.

Yesterday I received p express a Resolve of Congress respecting Gen^l Burgoyne's troops, which I shall endeavour to carry into execution as soon as possible, and shall also pay strict attention to your Excellency's opinion as hinted in yours of the 5th.

We are not a little embarrassed in obtaining quarters for the officers, who frequently informs us that they are to be quartered according to rank. Gen^l Burgoyne is in M^r Borland's house, formerly Gen. Putnam's quarters, and the other principal officers in the town of Cambridge; the British troops are in the barracks on Prospect Hill; the foreign on Winter Hill. I have obtained two regiments of drafts from the militia to guard them, nither officer or soldier is allowed to pass Charlestown Neck or Cambridge Bridge. Both officers and soldiers are very orderly; but desertions are surprisingly great, of which Gen^l Burgoyne makes complaint.

I have been much embarrassed in the commissary's department. I had desired M^r Miller to continue to issue provisions to our own troops and to the prisoners untill the arrival of the new commissaries. But just as the prisoners arrived Col^o Trumbull came to town and forbid any of his deputies or assistants acting, alledging that by the orders of Congress all the provisions and stores were to be delivered to the new D^y Commissary Gen^l of Issues, and that he could not deliver them otherwise. I have been obliged to take them by absolute order, and certify that it was against his consent, and have been obliged to appoint commissarys to act untill such as are appointed arrive. Surely matters ought not to remain in the present unsettled situation, and why it is I cannot conceive.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Exc^y Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS CHASE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov. 22^d, 1777.

SIR, — You will agree with the Rev^d Corporation of Harvard College upon a rent which is to be paid for the College House, and with them or the immediate governors of the College for the rent of Massachusetts Hall, as it appears impracticable to procure proper quarters for the officers of Gen^l Burgoyne's army without the improvement of that college. You will acquaint Gen^l Burgoyne, and stipulate with his Q. M. G. that all damage done to the before mentioned and all other publick or private buildgs. is to be made good. You will also immediately wait upon the immediate governors of the college, and acquaint them of the necessity of Massachusetts Hall being cleared without further delay.

Indorsed: Order to Coll. Chase to agree about the rent of the College, &c.

JOHN BURGoyNE TO WILLIAM HEATH.*

CAMBRIDGE, Nov^r 23^d, 1777.

SIR, — Your letter dated Boston, Nov^r 21st, renewing the subject of a former letter which respected orders from the Continental Congress for furnishing descriptive lists of the non commission officers and soldiers, came to my hand only on the 23^d.

I rely upon you to enquire into the causes of delay in the delivery of letters, that should there be any want of punctuality in the answers that inattention may not be imputed to me.

* Numerous letters which passed between Generals Burgoyne and Heath, often acrimonious in tone, are printed in Heath's *Memoirs*, as well as letters to and from General Phillips, who succeeded Burgoyne in command of the Convention troops; but as they are easily accessible in print they have not been included in this selection from the Heath papers. — Eds.

I am sorry you should have supposed me of so light a character as to have acted in a serious matter of state upon a sudden impression ; be assured I very well weighed my answer before I gave it ; and having done so you will not be surprized that I am determined to abide by it.

I am not so ignorant of the rights and customs of the civilized world as to dispute that the legislative powers of every community have, and ought to have, just controul over the actions of all persons found in the limits of their jurisdiction as far as regards the observance of their general promulgated laws in criminal or civil police ; but this acknowledgement does not at all apply to the case in question ; when the Congress, as the executive power of the State, think proper to issue an order to persons not their subjects, in a matter no way relating to the civil government of the country, but assuming a right to impose new conditions in a treaty of publick faith.

Perhaps, Sir, you will not find in the whole history of military conventions, or even capitulations, *many* instances wherein there is not an article binding upon one of the parties not to serve for a limited time ; but I defy you to find a *single* instance where any other security was demanded for that obligation than the pledge of national faith. I cannot therefore but look upon the reasons you give for demanding descriptive lists, viz., “to ascertain the officers and soldiers in case they should hereafter take arms contrary to their faith and honour,” as an unprecedented insult upon my country.

If you wish to descend from general history to particular and recent facts upon this subject, I beg leave to call your recollection to the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton and my self (for he did me the honour to consult me) when last year we released from Canada many hundred prisoners of the Continental troops upon their bare parole of not serving against the King till exchanged. We have since had no other dependance than that of publick faith

that those men have not been indiscriminately employed in arms. We have rested easy under this dependance, it is true, because we suppose every officer in the Continental army would be ready to punish the offenders, as we should certainly be in the like case.

I have been drawn unawares into a long explanation; but I trust it will have effect to prevent any further trouble upon this subject either to you or to,

Sir, your most obedient servant.

J. BURGOYNE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 27th, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l, — This moment, my express just going off, I received the honor of yours of the 13th instant, to which I shall pay strict attention. I shall be happy in every matter of great importance to have a signification of your Excellency's pleasure, and shall be very cautious how I act without your advice or direction; am most fully in sentiments with your Excellency respecting the troops of the Convention as expressed in your letter.

General Glover being present has solicited leave that during the stay of Gen^l Burgoyne in this neighbourhood, he may be permitted to visit the great seaport towns to the eastward between this and Portsmouth, which he conceives may be of advantage to us by shewing him how populous our country really is. I have consented that Gen^l Burgoyne should dine with him at his seat, but object to the further indulgence, thinking it rather impolitick. But Gen^l Glover is so importunate that I have told him I would mention the matter to your Excellency, and if you should think proper, I should not afterwards object.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. M^r Butler, your express, being out of money has received fifty dollars of the D^y Q. M. G. here, and M^r M^cCloskey, the express from Congress, 60 dollars.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Boston, Dec^r 7th, 1777.

DEAR GEN^l, — Permit me to congratulate your Excellency on the safe arrival of the ship *Flamand* at Portsmouth in 75 days' passage from Marseilles, having on board for the service of the United States, besides a general officer, 48 peices brass cannon, 4 p^{d^{ra}}, with carriages compleat; 19 nine inch mortars; 2,500 bombs 9 inch; 2,000 4^{lb} ball; a number of intrenching tools; 3,000 fuses; 1,110 of another quality for dragoons; about 18,000 ^{lb} gun powder, 61,051 w^t brimstone. The necessary steps shall be taken to secure them. After giving your Excellency this good news it is with the most painful sensations that I represent the state of the commissary department; and how an army is to be kept on foot another campaign if matters continue as at present I cannot conceive. The 12,000 bushels of salt orderd by Congress in the month of Oct^r last to be forwarded to the Middle District, for salting provisions for the magazines is every ounce yet in the stores here. The Northern District entirely destitute of that article. The late Commissary General directed by resolve of Congress to deliver all the stores in his hands to the D^y Commissary Gen^l of Issues, — no such person has appeared. The gentleman who is to forward the salt now waiting. The two Houses of Assembly in addition to my request have desired Col^o Trumbull, who is present, to deliver the salt. He replies that their resolve will not vouch his acco^{ts} with the

* Washington's answer to this letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 78-80. — Eds.

auditors ; therefore cannot deliver it. In this embarrassed situation of affairs, seeing the destruction of the army inevitable if neglect longer continues, I have determined to take and deliver the salt to Mr Colt, who is waiting to receive it. I have taken this resolution upon the extreme necessity of the case, thinking it better to risk the sacrificing my own interest than that the publick cause should suffer irreparable injury, and, my dear General, I must intreat your interposition with Congress that such measures may be adopted as will save me, the commissary, and the store keepers harmless. I will only add that I wish if matters remain just as they stand at present the army may not be starved out of the field in less than nine months.

I have the honor to be.

FRANCIS DANA * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

YORK TOWN, Dec^r 8th, 1777.

SIR, — By a letter this day receiv'd from Cambridge I am acquainted that there are about 1,000 men stationed in and about Fort N^o 2, which stands partly upon my farm, who are constantly committing acts of most wanton devastation upon it, pulling up and burning the fences, and destroying the very few trees that escaped the ravages of our army formerly posted there, which, besides cutting down several hundred cords of wood, destroyed

* Francis Dana, the eminent patriot and jurist, was born in Charlestown, Mass., June 13, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and died in Cambridge April 25, 1811. He early espoused the cause of the Colonies, and in May, 1776, he was chosen a member of the Council of Massachusetts. He held that office until 1780, having in the mean time been also elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. In 1779 he was appointed secretary to John Adams, American commissioner to negotiate treaties of peace and commerce abroad. In 1780 he was appointed minister to Russia; and during nearly all of the remaining years of his life he filled with great distinction and ability numerous important and influential positions in the public service both in his own State and in the nation, having been for fifteen years Chief Justice of Massachusetts. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70. — Eps.

upwards of 9,000 posts and rails. It was with the utmost difficulty in the course of the last year I procured sufficient fencing barely to enclose my farm. I cannot think of submitting again to such abominable destruction of my property, to have my farm thrown open, cut up and broken to peices. I must call upon you, Sir, to protect my property from the ravages of these men, who I understand are under your command, and shall hope that effectual measures will be adopted without loss of time to put an end to such abusive conduct.

I am, Sir, with respect, your h^{ble} servant.

FRA. DANA.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Dec^r 12th, 1777.

GENT, — Your late resolve for extending the limits of the parole of the officers of the Convention to Lexington for the purpose of accommodating them with quarters has not had the supposed effect. Not more than two or three rooms can be obtained, at any rate on that road; and indeed how are quarters to be expected from an extension to fields and scattering farm houses. Your Honors are sensible that it is in large publick buildings in populous towns and villages that they are found. The subject of quarters has been long debated; they are not as yet provided. Every principle of interest and policy calls for our attention to the fulfillment of the Convention. The probable short stay of the troops still more engages it, as they will wish to catch at every pretext as an infringement, and will avail themselves of improving it to our disadvantage. If the Colleges are not to be taken, why should Watertown be refused where quarters can be procured with ease? Can one material objection of disadvantage to the public be alledged against it that upon

one moment's reflection does not at present almost equally exist? Publick faith, honor, and interest compel me immediately to find proper quarters. I wish, I need, I ask your assistance that it may be compleated this day *for reasons which I cannot mention*. If I should not be so happy as to obtain your assistance to effect it, I hope that such measures as necessity may compel me to take will not be disagreeable to you.

Indorsed : Letter to Council requesting that Quarters may be taken up in Watertown.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD Q^{rs}, GULPH MILL, 17th Dec^r, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I am favoured with yours of the 23^d and 27th of November. If the recruits intended for Lee's and Jackson's regiments have not had the small pox, and are not marched when this reaches you, I desire they may be inoculated before they join the army. After the repeated directions which I had given to have all the recruits who had not had that disorder innoculated the moment they were inlisted, I was not less surprized than mortified to find the fine detachment of men that came forward under L^t Col^o Smith rendered intirely useless for this campaign by my orders not being attended to. By the time they reached the camp the small pox broke out upon them, which obliged me to send the whole into the hospital, as those who were well were not more than sufficient to nurse the sick.

I immediately forwarded the packets and letters from Gen^l Burgoyne and his officers to Gen^l Howe. As to Gen^l Burgoyne's request to me to permit him to depart before his army, I did not think myself authorized to grant it before I consulted Congress, to whom I transmitted a copy of his letter. I shall give him an answer

as soon as I know their determination. I think it would have been highly improper to have allowed him the liberty of visiting your seaport towns. A man of his sagacity and penetration would make many observations upon situation, &c., that might prove detrimental to us in future.

You have felt but a small share of the inconveniences arising from the ill regulations in the commissary's department. I hope it will get into some better order before long, but in the mean time you acted properly in appointing persons to execute the office yourself.

Your favor of the 4th instant came to hand since beginning this letter. I am pleased to hear of the arrival of the ship with artillery, &c. from France, as it is a fresh proof of the friendly disposition of that Court towards us.

Genl. Patterson informs me that there are two hundred and forty of the troops of Massachusetts who were drafted for eight months and whose times will expire the last of this month. He also informs me that care will be taken by the Legislature to replace them, but lest they may be forgetful of it, I beg you will remind them, not only of the necessity of reinlisting or supplying the place of the above number, but of filling their regiments against the next campaign. Upon this last head, I have written fully to Congress, and I make no doubt they have or will urge the matter to the Council and Assembly of your State.

Whenever you have occasion for directions in any matters respecting General Burgoyne and his troops, it will be best for you to write fully to Congress upon the subject, as they alone must determine in all cases which refer to them.

I am, dear Sir, your most obed. servt.

G^o WASHINGTON.

HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

YORK TOWN, 27th Decem., 1777.

SIR, — I beg leave to refer you to the inclosed duplicate of a letter which I had the honour of writing to you the 23^d inst^t, transmitted by the hand of a Mr Storer.

Congress having received from Gen^l Gates, as intimated in my last, copy of a letter written to him by Lieut^t Gen^l Burgoyne, in which this gentleman declares that “the public faith is broke,” &c., have taken this declaration, together with his refusal, under an assertion not founded in truth, to give such descriptive marks of his non commissioned officers, privates, and other persons as you had demanded, into their most serious consideration in a committee of the whole House, — these weighty and important circumstances after having long employed the close attention of a select Committee has taken up almost the whole time of Congress for two days past, nor have the House yet accomplished all the solemn and necessary resolutions which the case demands, but have proceeded so far as to receive a report from the Committee of the Whole, and to order me to address you, Sir, in terms of the letter which you will find inclosed and of this which I am now penning ; these will be followed as speedily as possible by extended Acts and Resolutions, prepared for your further direction as well as for public information on both sides the Atlantic.

It is the express desire and injunction of Congress that you do not communicate the contents of these letters to any person until it shall become absolutely necessary, that is to say, until you shall have received the intended Acts and Resolves, or until you shall have attempted and if possible completed certain essential acts, admitting the vessels for transporting Lt Gen^l Burgoyne and his troops to be arrived at the port of Boston.

By essential acts Congress mean that the tonnage of the transport vessels and also that the stores of provisions and fuel should be particularly enquired into and ascertained to be in your judgement sufficient for transportation and sustenance of the numbers of persons intended to be embarked for a voyage from Boston to Great Britain, and more particularly that all accounts be liquidated and the amount due by Lieut^t Gen^l Burgoyne, or as great a part of it as you can obtain, actually paid in gold or silver according to the rate specified in the Resolve of Congress of the 19th inst^t transmitted in my last letter, in order to reduce within the smallest compass articles which may hereafter be made subjects for cavil and disputation by the Court of Great Britain, on whose honour and justice these States cannot at present with any degree of safety rely.

These acts which Congress judge indispensibly necessary to be performed before an embarkation can take place will employ some days and gain so much time without subjecting the honour of the House or of its constituents to any unfavorable imputation from the world. You will also from what has been said perceive good ground for renewing your demand of the names and particular description of the non-commissioned officers, privates, &c., but it may be prudent not to press this unless by appeal to expected directions from Congress and to the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton in the instance adduced by Mr Burgoyne and permit him if he pleases to decoy himself.

If when you shall have sufficiently attempted or completed these necessary acts you shall not have received the intended Resolves of Congress it will then be necessary for you to disclose the contents of the inclosed letter to General Burgoyne and peremptorily to prohibit his embarkation until you shall have received further directions on that point.

You will understand the motive for dating that letter January 1778, and leaving a blank for the day to be properly and carefully filled by your self.

I have in conclusion to assure you, Sir, that Congress repose the highest confidence in your address and abilities for conducting with propriety this very important business, in which on one side the faith and honour of these infant States are to be preserved and on the other the magnanimity and resolution of Congress to be exemplified in guarding against frauds and deceptions of an enemy who have hitherto practiced without remorse every act of violence, injustice, and cruelty in the prosecution of the present war.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

HENRY LAURENS, *President of Congress.*

(Duplicate.)

The Honorable Major Gen. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN BURGOYNE

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 3^d, 1777 [1778].

SIR, — I received the last evening p^r express a Resolve of the Hon. Continental Congress of the 19th ult^o, directing “that the accounts of all provisions and other necessities which already have been, or which hereafter may be, supplied by the publick to prisoners in the power of these States shall be discharged by either receiving from the British Commissary of Prisoners, or any of his agents, provisions or other necessities equal in quality and kind to what have been supplied, or the amount thereof in gold or silver at the rate of four shillg. and six pence sterling for every dollar of the currency of these States, and that all these accounts be liquidated and discharged previous to the release of any prisoners to whom provisions or other necessities shall have been supplied.”

This resolve is prefaced upon Sir W^m Howe's requisition for provisions to be sent in for the subsistence of the American prisoners in his possession and for the purchase of such necessaries as they stand in need of, and the fraudulency of those who have counterfieted the Continental bills of credit, large sums of which have been issued.

I am also directed to see "that all accounts with you are settled and fully paid in the same manner, before the embarkation of your *self* or other officers and troops included in the Convention of Saratoga."

I thought it my duty to give your Excellency the earliest intimation of this order that you may take such steps as may be necessary for the settlement of the accounts, which cannot be settled by me in any other way than as above directed.

I am, your Excellency's most ob^t, hbl^e serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gen. BURGOYNE.

JOHN BURGOYNE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan^y 4th, 1778.

SIR, — Your letter dated yesterday is only now come to hand. Mr Geddes attends for your passport.

Tho' I do not pretend to see all that may be meant in the resolve you transmitted me, there is certainly nothing in the words of it which implies the construction you put in regard to my personal embarkation.

As to your allotment of a "convenient transport" for my passage, if it is from yourself, I am to thank you, Sir, for a sort of insult which the most haughty man of office would be ashamed of in any other country.

However, as I am determined every transaction concerning this Convention shall be notorious and beyond the powers of subterfuge to explain away, I have directed

the frigate together with the transports to come round, and it will then be for you, Sir, to prohibit the entry of Boston harbour to any ships bearing a flag of truce, and declaring they are sent for the express purpose of conveying to Great Britain any part of the troops of the Convention.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

J. BURGOYNE.

To M. Gen^l HEATH.

ROBERT KINGSTON* TO WILLIAM HARCOURT.†

To the Hon^{ble} Colonel Harcourt, Queen's Light Dragoons.

CAMBRIDGE, JAN^y 6, 1778.

DEAR HARCOURT, — I wished much to have wrote to you by Mr Vallancey on the subject of the campaign, but we were at that time so very full of business I had not a moment to myself. Fortune has not shewn us the smooth side of her face, but I think our misfortunes honourable ones. You know how very prejudicial any winter is to our friend's health, upon that account as well as the rest I much regret his situation; nor do I think the insincerity of France, the bigotry of Spain, nor the vindictive Portuguese would have attempted to distress an individual circumstanced as he is, by unnecessary detention. He is not well, but you know his firmness. We have endured much, and I trust we shall continue to endure the worst that may befall us, with a spirit that none of our friends shall be ashamed of us.

I write to wish you health, honor, and happiness;

* Col. Robert Kingston was Military Secretary and Adjutant-General under Burgoyne, and in that capacity arranged the details of the surrender at Saratoga. See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, p. 513. — Eds.

† William, 3d Earl Harcourt, was born March 20, 1743, had a long military career, and died June 18, 1830. He commanded the detachment of British dragoons which captured Gen. Charles Lee in 1776. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxiv. pp. 327, 328. — Eds.

remember me to Sir George Osborn and all our old friends of the Queen's. and

Believe me ever sincerely yours,

R^T KINGSTON.

Is our friend Lech. exchanged? We were told he was in this neighbourhood. I doubt it, as we have never had a line from him.

General Burgoyne desires his love to you and wishes you to write to him in England. He does not write, as an open letter precludes him from communicating his sentiments in the manner he wishes to a friend.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 8th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — From several peices of intelligence which we have lately received, I think there are some grounds to apprehend that the enemy are removing some of their troops from Philadelphia to New York, and from thence to Newport. Whether these movements are for the security of those places, or with further design, is matter of conjecture. It has long been my sentiment that the great seaport towns are their object, and I think they must be convinced that they can never penetrate far into the country. If I am not mistaken in my conjecture I think Boston will be their next object, which they will attempt by two landings; the one at Providence, the other somewhere not far from this place. Lord Howe is now at Rhode Island, with the greater part of the men of war, and it is said with near 150 sail of transports.

Should New England happen to be the seat of war another campaign, I fear our magazines of provisions will not be stored with that plenty which we could wish. Flour in particular must be sent from other quarters and

in large quantities, as the troops here will soon exhaust our present stock.

Enclosed is a sketch of some matters related by a person who lately escaped from New York. As he appeared to be very honest and intelligent, I thought it might be worthy of your notice.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN BURGOYNE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 8th, 1778.

SIR, — Your two favors of yesterday I have just received. I find your Excellency was misinformed as to Gen^l Gates's being at Congress. He was not at the time of my last intelligence, and whether he is now at Albany or Fish Kill, I cannot say. You will therefore please to determine what rout the officer who is directed to him shall take, an officer of mine will attend him, and another will attend M^r Clark, who must first wait on his Excellency Gen^l Washington before he goes into Philadelphia. The officers must give their special paroles and all letters and papers be examined before they sit out. Whether it will be most proper for M^r Clark to carry the original accots. or duplicates of them is for you to determine. But should transports arrive tomorrow the acco^{ts}, as I have observed in a former letter, must be settled and paid before you embarke. I mention this that you may not be embarrassed should M^r Clark be absent with the original accounts. As I am not quite clear with respect to Cap^t Willoe's request, I cannot now give my answer thereto.

I am, your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

L^t G. BURGOYNE.

DAVID HENLEY * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMBRIDGE, January 8th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — This morning upon receiv^g Col. Brooks' report of the mutinous behaviour of the prisoners, and that two men of ours was kill^d, I immediately order^d the troops of the garrison under arms, a hundred men equipt and compleat to attend me. Upon examination of Col. Gerish it appears that a British soldier threw a stone at the centry, which depriv^d him of his reason and near his life; the Col. directly with two hundred men made search for the villain and the centry's peice, upon which the prisoners arm^d themselves with clubs, &c. He had given the order for his men to fire, but on discover^g some of his own party in the barracks he countermanded those orders, and rush^d upon them in a brave manner with firelocks club^d, drove them from barrack to barrack till he made them sick of their frolick, taking some prisoners and confineing them. I thought proper this morning to visit the guards and clear the guard house of prisoners, and order^d my guard their march to main guard at Prospect Hill.

The British troops assembl^d; upon which I gave orders to their immediate dispersing; they behav^d with their usual insolence and resqu^d a prisoner from a corp^l and two men. I must confess this putt me upon acting with resolution; headed the detachment myself, gave orders for them to disperse, they did it with so much reluctance and insolence that I run a British soldier thorough the body and push with such force that it may prove fatal to him; two others were wounded in resqu^g the prisoner, and

* David Henley was born in Charlestown, Mass., Feb. 12, 1748, and died in Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1823. In August, 1775, he was appointed brigade-major to General Heath, and in January, 1777, he was made colonel of one of the Massachusetts regiments. He had the command in Cambridge when the Convention troops arrived there; and while acting in this capacity he was accused by Burgoyne of cruelty, but was acquitted by a court martial. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. p. 167. — Eds.

a soldier of ours in the thigh by a false push from one of our party.

Several officers of rank have waited on me this day to plead an excuse for their men; but lenity is often con- sider^d as timidity, and thought more vigorous exertions necessary; their crimes so capital that I have sent them with a recommendation for a guard ship. Gen^l Burgoyne sent me a note, he says he will write you a letter of very serious consequence. I suppose with regard to my day's behaviour; but as I will assure you, I allways listen to the voice of humanity, and have only this day exerted a spirit proper so important a command of which I am honour^d with. Think shall have your approbation and support.

I am with respect, dear General, your ob^d, hum serv^t.

DAVID HENLEY.

HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

YORK TOWN, 14 January, 1778.

SIR, — My last to you was dated the 5th inst. and sent by messenger Weir, since which I have been honoured by yours of the 17th and 25th Decem., both of which having been committed to the Board of War and Board of Treasury are by one or other so far mislaid as to deprive me by the present opportunity of means for giving any reply, except such as may be found in the Act of Congress of this date directing the issuing of a salted provision and restricting you in making advances of money to the officers in the commissary, quarter master, and clothier generals' departments to cases of absolute necessity only, which Act you will find under this cover, as you will an act of the 6th directing that one thousand good bell tents be sent to the army under General Washington's command.

You will likewise receive two copies of an Act of Congress dated the 8th inst., for suspending the embarkation of Lieut^t Gen. Burgoyne and his troops until the Convention of Saratoga shall be explicitly ratified by the Court of Great Britain and notified to Congress. One copy of which you are directed by another Act, dated the 12th, which will accompany the abovementioned, to deliver to Lieut^t Gen. Burgoyne; by the same Act you are enjoined to order such transports if arrived, or when they shall arrive, to quit the port of Boston immediately.

Congress have directed Gen. Washington to renew his demand on Gen. Sir W^m Howe for passports for vessels to transport provision and fuel for General Burgoyne's army, but as good policy dictates that we should keep the Court of Great Britain from a knowledge founded upon authentic accounts of the Act of Congress of the 8th inst. as long as we can fairly do so, that demand will not be made until Congress shall be informed that you have delivered a copy of the Act to Gen. Burgoyne. The transporting provision under such expected passports, admitting such will be granted, may therefore be long delayed; from these considerations you will judge, Sir, of the expediency or necessity for applying to Gen. Burgoyne to order provision for the use of his troops from on board the British transport vessels, which probably from motives of œconomy he will interpose, — for it is not intended he shall ever depart until he shall have paid up all his accounts in terms of a Resolve of Congress lately transmitted you.

I have the honour to be, with very great regard, Sir,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President of Congress.*

P. S. Under your cover I take the liberty of putting two packets directed to the Baron Stuben, and one to Lieut^t Col^o Campbell, recommended to your protection.

The Baron has not applied to Congress for any assistance to bring him forward on his journey, — possibly he might have expected the offer on our part as a thing of course, therefore I request you, Sir, to make him a tender of money and to afford him such aids as shall be suitable to his rank and occasions. This I think consistent with the honour of Congress, and have no doubt of their approbation, but 'tis now past midnight, the messenger will take his dispatches by the dawn of to-morrow, therefore I shall not have time to apply for a formal Resolution for this purpose; but I will be answerable for such disbursements as you shall judge necessary and proper, and repay them with thanks in such manner as you shall direct.

The Honorable Major General HEATH, Boston.

JOHN BURGOYNE TO WILLIAM HOWE.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan^y 18, 1778.

SIR, — I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency copies of letters and extracts which have passed between me and Major General Heath respecting the mode of payment for the provisions, wood, and other articles furnished to the troops under my command.

The demand of gold and silver coin and the declaration which accompanies it, viz., that neither I nor any of the troops shall embark 'till the accounts are so paid, appearing to me to be matters of the most serious moment, whether the public faith as pledged by the Convention, or general justice implied in the dealings of the most hostile nations be considered, I applied for safe conduct to my Commissary General, Mr Clarke, to proceed to your Excellency in order to lay the accounts before you and to receive your orders. This application has been consented to, and I shall impatiently expect his return.

I also with M. General Heath's consent dispatch L^t Vallancy to M. Gen^l Gates to require his exertions in support of the treaty in which his personal honor and the character of the government he serves are intimately united. The matter lies in a very small compass; the value of gold and silver in every part of the country is notoriously disproportionate to that of paper currency: to purchase commodities by money of the lesser value and to receive payment in that of the greater, according to the nominal value of each, would be clearly to secure the gain to the purchasers in proportion to the difference of the intrinsic value, and consequently the engagement of supplying these troops, at the same rate of ration with Gen^l Gates's army, would be directly infringed.

It may happen that both M^r Clark and L^t Vallancy may return before the transports are ready in the port of Boston to receive the troops, and in that case matters may be adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties; should it be otherwise, it is my present intention to tender paper money, or gold and silver, or drafts in proportion to the known value of each, in payment for the charges incurred for the troops; and it will then be for the judgment of M. General Heath, or other ruling powers here, to grant or refuse the free passage to the troops and without delay.

My health has suffered considerably by my residence in this climate, and is likely to do more so; but that representation had no avail in one application I made for embarkation at Rhode-Island as matter of favor, and it would be vain to try it the second time.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

J. BURGoyNE.

His Ex^y Gen^l Howe, &c., &c., &c.

Indorsed: Copy of a letter from Gen^l Burgoyne to Gen^l Howe.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 18th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — Lieut. Gen^l Burgoyne has requested leave for his Assistant Commissary Gen^l, M^r Clark, to proceed to Sir W^m Howe to lay before him the accounts of provisions, &c., which have been supplied to the troops of the Convention, those for the months of Nov^r and Dec^r having been exhibited. I imagine this is in order to consult Gen^l Howe which will be most for their interest to refund the provisions, or pay off the accounts in solid coin. I have consented to his request if your Excellency approves of his going in. I have directed Cap^t Gooch who attends him to stop him at the out post of the army, and then himself to wait upon your Excellency with the letters and receive your orders.

I have also permitted an officer to proceed to Gen^l Gates, at the earnest request of Gen^l Burgoyne. He cannot well digest paying the acco^{ts} in solid coin, but the liberty of replacing the provisions is a check upon his complaining. For my own part I wish he may return provisions, as I think it will be much for our interest.

The General Assembly here have now a committee considering the most speedy and effectual measures to complete their several reg^t in continental service.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most ob^t, hbl serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN BURGoyNE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 19th, 1778.

SIR, — Your packet of letters, papers, &c, were handed to me the last evening p^r Col^o Keith. I think that the

* Washington's answer to this letter and several others is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 82, 83. — Eds.

second paragraph of your letter to S^r W^m Howe does not stand quite fairly expressed. You are pleased to state it that you are to pay the acco^{ts} in gold or silver or your self and troops be detained. I think it would be but just to have inserted or *replace the provisions and necessaries with which your troops have been supplied*, which is the mode in which I informed you your acco^{ts} were to be settled, and I must desire you to make that addition in your letter.

I find among the letters one wrote by Col^o Kingston to Lord Harcourt which I have detained. I shall ever take pleasure in gratifying any officer when I can do it consistent with the honor and safety of my country, and those gentlemen who write should be very cautious what expressions they make use of, and altho the exceptional expressions in Col^o Kingston's letter are rather oblique than direct, yet they are so much pointed that I am not certain whether they do not in some degree touch his parole, — of which I shall consider further.

As I am informed your Excellency is desirous that L^t Vallancy should go with M^r Clark, I suppose they must be necessarily detained until tomorrow morning.

I am your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

L^t Gen^l BURGoyNE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QU^{RS}, BOSTON, Jan^{ry} 19th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^t, — Since writing on yesterday Gen^l Burgoyne has sent his packet of letters for examination. I observe he has enclosed several copies of letters which have passed between us; all those copies and others I have some time since transmitted to Congress. It would not do for me to object to Gen^l Burgoyne's sending them to Gen^l Howe for obvious reasons; and I am assured your Excellency's determination respecting both them and the

other letters will be most proper. Your Excellency will observe that he is laying great stress upon the payment of his accounts in solid coin, and views it as an infraction on the Convention. If the transports should arrive, which I think they will soon, he has pointed to S^r W^m Howe his present intention. I am so happy as to be specially instructed by Congress in regard to my conduct, and shall most invariably pursue it. The commissary has charged the provisions at the same price at which our own troops are supplied. Gen^l Burgoyne supposes his solid coin to be worth three times so much as our currency. But what an opinion must he have of the authority of these States to suppose that his money would be received at any higher rate than our own in publick payments, such payment would at once be deprecateing our currency with a witness. I have repeatedly informed them that it is trifling to mention what some sordid individuals would give in the exchange of money, since they do it with great secrecy at their peril, and if detected would be most severely punished.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing two or three copies of letters which have passed between Gen^l Burgoyne and myself which are not among his copies.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,
Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

ROBERT KINGSTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

To M. General Heath. Boston.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan^y 27th, 1778.

SIR,—General Burgoyne told me you did not think proper to let my letter to my friend Colonel Harcourt pass; of course I expected it would be returned. I have made but two attempts to write since I have been here,

because born in a country of real liberty I am accustomed to write freely. I told M^r Geddes who took the one letter, for a sister, and Colonel Keith, who obligingly took the other, for a friend, that you had my free consent to strike out whatever you chose. There is an implied faith for all letters submitted for inspection. They belong to the persons they are addressed to, or to the writer; no third person can with propriety detain them. I am persuaded every gentleman must see this in the same light, and I am willing to impute to hurry of business your not returning my letter addressed to Col. Harcourt. I must beg the favour of you to let me have it when you next send to Cambridge.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

R^t KINGSTON.

TO M. G. HEATH.

SETH LORING * TO ROBERT KINGSTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan^y 29, 1778.

SIR,—Your letter of the 27th instant has been presented to the General; in answer to which would inform you, Sir, there is no doubt of your being accustomed to write freely,—it evidently appears on the face of your letter.

'Tis, however, surprising that you who are so cautious of writing in a land destitute of real liberty should in your second attempt so illiberally asperse the character of our country as that the honor thereof could not admit of its passing unnoticed.

And although you may flatter yourself that no third person can with propriety detain a letter, yet in many cases it has been practised even in a country of *real* liberty when it became necessary for the detection and conviction of the author.

* Seth Loring was a son of Benjamin Loring, of Duxbury, and was born Feb. 7, 1755. He died in Boston Sept. 10, 1779. See Winsor's History of Duxbury, pp. 277, 278.—EDS.

And while you sarcastically consent to the General's "striking out" what he pleased in your letter, it might have been equally an act of generosity had you literally have thrown dirt on him, and told him he might wipe off whatever he chose.

Your kind construction upon the detention of the letter is to be acknowledged, but the General, though he should not sustain the character of a gentleman, must be excused in not returning your letter addressed to Col^o Harcourt, as he may have further occasion for it.

I am, Sir, your most obed^t serv^t.

SETH LORING, *Sec^{ry}*.

To Col^o KINGSTON.

HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

YORK TOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, January, 1777 [1778].

SIR, — Congress having taken under their most serious consideration the refusal of L^t Gen. Burgoyne to return the names and such descriptive marks of the non commissioned officers, privates, &c., included in the Convention of Saratoga as had been required by Congress, following in that instance the example established by Sir Guy Carlton and himself, which to you L^t Gen. Burgoyne was pleased first to misrepresent and then appeal to. And also a declaration made upon the most frivolous pretence by the said Lieut^t General to Major Gen. Gates in a letter of the 14th Novem., a copy of which will accompany this, that "the public faith is broke" and that himself and his dependants were the "immediate sufferers," are justly alarmed by apprehensions that the last mentioned in particular is a measure projected for giving colour to his receding from the articles of the Convention, and that it also strongly indicates a determination in his mind to absolve himself from his engagements.

I have therefore in charge from the Representatives of the thirteen United States of America in Congress assembled to direct and enjoin you to detain the said Lieut^t Gen. Burgoyne, his officers, troops, and other persons and to suspend their intended embarkation until you shall be further instructed.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect,
Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS,
President of Congress.

The Honorable Major General HEATH, Boston.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HENRY LAURENS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Feby 7th, 1778.

SIR, — I received the honor of yours of the 14th, 21st, and 22nd ulto., inclosing the several resolves of the Hon. Congress, on the third instant within an hour of each other; shall endeavor to pay strict attention to each of them. The next morning I sent one of the resolves to Lieut^t Gen^l Burgoyne, and another to the Hon. John Adams, Esq^r. Gen^l Burgoyne has requested leave to send an officer to Congress to which I have consented. He also requested to send an officer with a copy of the resolve to Lord Howe, which I have refused untill I had certified Congress of the delivery of the resolve to him self. Gen^l Burgoyne and his officers appear much disapointed, and exhibit an appearance rather of concern and uneasiness than sulkiness or resentment, and endeavour to paliate their former expression and conduct.

I would beg to be informed whether it is expected by Congress that any new measures should be adopted towards the troops of the Convention in consequence of the resolve of the 8th ult^o as to seperateing the officers from

the men, or removing the troops or any part of them to any other place, or whether the same mode of conduct as heretofore is to be pursued. I have applied for an augmentation to the present guards and shall exercise every necessary precaution.

The letters directed to Gen^l Steuben I do myself the honor to enclose to you. The Gen^l being anxious to proceed to the army had set out before the arrival of the letters. The Hon. Mr Hancock furnished him with the necessary monies, and the D^y Q. M. G. with a waggon and horses for his servants, &c.

No transports have as yet come round. I fear we shall be straitned as to provisions in this quarter. One of the purchasing commissaries has just informed that there are not as yet 500 bbs. of beef put up in the State of Connecticut, and that Col^o Champion, who had just returned from a tour through that State for the purpose of enquiring what cattle could be procured, had informed him that they would most certainly be scarce and it was doubtfull whether many supplies could be sent this way from that quarter, and desired the commissary to give me immediate notice of it. I thought it my duty to mention this seasonably to your Honor, as it is an additional reason for pressing Lord Howe to grant passports for provisions to be sent round by water.

Col^o Hazen having been here a few days since to procure some articles requisite for the troops destined to the northward (with which he was furnished and returned immediately) proposed to me the sending a small scout from the upper settlements on Kennebeck River to the French settlements on the River Chaudiere, to spread a report that a body of troops would make an irruption into Canada by that rout. As this appeared to be calculated for publick utility, I have ordered a scout of twelve men to proceed immediately across the woods and report at the first French settlements that they are sent forward to

mark a road for a large body of troops, who are coming on in order to lay siege to Quebec, and to enquire if provisions can be obtained, &c, and to hold up every colouring of deception. As such a report may divert their force, and as the Council here were much in favor of the manoeuvre I hope it will meet with approbation.

Agreeable to the direction in yours of the 27th Dec^r I again called upon Gen^l Burgoyne for the discriptive list of his troops, but did not press it save in the manner pointed out by your Honor. He has again entangled himself by appealing to the conduct of the British officers in Canada.

The court of enquiry upon Gen^l Burgoyne's complaint against Col^o Henley have reported that the opinion of a general court martial should be taken. As soon as the proceedings are compleated I shall do myself the honor to transmit them.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your Honor's most ob^t, hbbl. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. In consequence of the late resolve of the Hon. Congress forbidding the embarkation of the officers and troops of the Convention, &c, several officers have applied for permission to go to Europe on parole or to be exchanged here. I do myself the honor to enclose a letter from Col^o Anstruther and another from Lord Napier. I would beg leave to request a signification of the pleasure of Congress respecting them.

Hon. HENRY LAURENS, Esq^r.

PETER COLT * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEWHAVEN, Feb^y 17, 1778.

SIR, — Since I had the honour of waiting on you at Boston there has taken such a change in the Com^y De-

* For a notice of Peter Colt, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 401, 402 n. — Eds.

partment that I think it my duty to advertise you of it. Congress, growing alarmed at not hearing of my acceptance, appointed the Gov^r and Council of Safety of this State, superintendants of the whole of the Commiserate in the Eastern Department. By subsequent resolves they have deligated to them full powers of appointing, placing and displacing both purchasing and issuing commissaries at their pleasure. In consequence of this authority they have appointed Col^o Henry Champion of Colchester superintendant of the purchasing beef cattle, and have sot him free from all the regulations Congress have made respecting that branch of supplies. He would undertake upon no other terms. He is made intirely independant of me. Does not receive his moneys from me, or render his accounts to me. To him you will therefore please to look for your future supplies of beef cattle. As we are called upon from Gen^l Washington's camp, for large supplies of beef cattle for his subsistance, and without which the General assures us no human efforts can keep the army from starving or disbanding, we shall not be able to furnish much if any fat cattle from Connecticut for the support of the troops and prisoners in your quarter, from this time untill grass fed beef can be had. The collections of salted meat in this State on the east side of Connecticut River are very small, — I fear not sufficient to support the troops at Providence; and all we have collected at the westard will be wanted on North River and to the northard and be a very scanty supply. I hope Mr Miller will be able to purchase considerable quantities of salted fish, perhaps some Irish beef and pork; but this is a precarious supply. From this representation you will see the necessity of lessning the daily consumption of meat. I think it is not in our power to keep up the usual supplies, as Mr Miller writes me your part of the country is quite exhausted. Your own judgment must determin the course you are to take under these disagreeable cir-

cumstances. If Gen^l Howe would replace the provisions furnished the prisoners, it would relieve us from part of our present embarrassments. I am greatly distressed on account of the scantyness of my supplies of meat. This is partly owing to my so lately engaging in the service; and partly to a real scarcity in the country. Our militia have been so much called of from their farms that they have not been able to fatten the usual quantities of meat, and one half that was raised last season was sold before I begun purchasing for the army.

I shall do every thing in my power to obtain the needful supplies, and must leave the event to Providence.

I have the honour to be

Your Honour's most obd^t and very hum^l servant.

PETER COLT, *D. C. G. P.*

M. G. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HENRY LAURENS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Feby 19th, 1778.

SIR, — General Burgoyne's dispatches for the Hon. Congress having been several days since forward'd, they will doubtless arrive ere this reaches you.

Strictly attending to the signification of the pleasure of Congress as expresd in your Honor's letter of the 14th ult^o, "That good policy dictates that we should keep the Court of Great Britain from a knowledge founded on authentic accounts of the act of Congress of the 8th instant as long as we can fairly do so," I refused Gen^l Burgoyne the liberty of communicating the resolve to Lord Howe untill I had certified Congress that I had delivered it to himself. But a printer here some how or other got possession of the resolve or a copy of it from the Council Chamber and very inconsiderately and imprudently published it in his paper, from which the other printers have taken it. I thought duty to myself required

that I should mention this least it might be thought that it was obtained from me.

Yesterday we received information from Gov^r Cook that on Sunday, the 15th instant, three frigates and upwards of twenty ships, snows, brig^r, &c., sailed from New Port and were last seen standing to the north east, — whether they are coming round here or bound to Europe time must discover. If the former, the necessary precautions are taking.

No money has as yet arrived, and the embarrasments both here and at Providence are great; we are hourly looking out for releif.

Gen^l Burgoyne and his officers express themselves with much modesty under their detention, but Gen^l Philips observed to me the day before yesterday, that Great Britain would never ratify the Convention, that as it was made between Gen^l Gates and Gen^l Burgoyne and nither the United States or Great Britain mentioned, the ministry would have nothing to do with it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Honor's most ob^t, hbb^l serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. HENRY LAURENS, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Feb^y 19th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored by the receipt of your of the 22nd ult^o.

Having received the Resolve of Congress for delaying the embarkation of Gen^l Burgoyne and his army till the Convention is ratified by Great Britain, I am carefully observing the conduct of those troops, have inculcated vigilance and alertness on the guards and sentinels, and have augmented their numbers, have been removing the arms,

&c, from this town, and am happy to find that the measures which I have been pursuing are such as your Excellency is pleased to direct.

Yesterday we had information from Gov^r Cook that on Sunday last, the 15th instant, three frigates and upwards of twenty sail of transports sailed from Newport and were last seen standing to the N. East, but whether bound here, to the West Indies or to Europe time must discover.

I do my self the honor to send your Excellency a small matter of sealing wax, all that I could obtain this morning, as it is not to be procured in this town; but being informed that it may possibly be obtained at Salem I have desired Col^o Chase to send there.

Inclosed is an application from an Ensign Winship who desires to resign his commission in the army, if agreeable to your Excellency.

Your Excellency will undoubtedly observe in our papers, and perhaps with surprise, a publication of the resolution of Congress of the eighth of Jan^{ry}, which Congress, I apprehend, meant not to publish here untill they were certified that I had delivered it to Gen^l Burgoyne. I had refused him the liberty of sending a copy to Lord Howe at Rhode Island untill I had taken that step; but Congress having sent one of the resolves to the Council here a printer some how availed himself of it and very imprudently published it in his paper, from which the others have taken it.

I have taken the liberty to enclose a letter directed to General Howe, which if your Excellency will please when an opportunity offers to permit it to be sent in will oblige the officer who sends it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's ob^t, hbble serv^t.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN BURGoyNE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Mar^h 8th, 1778.

SIR, — Yours of this date is just come to hand in which you observe that 8,930 tonnage of transport is arrived at Cape Cod, under the orders of Cap^t Dalrymple, designed to convey the troops of the Convention to England, and request that I would inform you what part I mean to take in regard to the embarkation.

As the Hon. Congress were pleased by their Resolutions of the 8th Jan^{ry} last (copy of which I did myself the honor to transmit to your Excellency) fully to determine that matter, as their servant, I can take no other part than such as they are pleas^d to point out as my duty, to which I shall strictly conform. Any assistance in my power in conveying your letter to Cap^t Dalrymple shall be most cheerfully afforded by

Your Excellency's most ob^t, hbb^{le} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

L^t G. BURGoyNE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HENRY LAURENS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, March 10th, 1778.

SIR, — I have been honored with the receipt of yours of the 19th and 20 ulto. enclosing the resolves of Congress.

Our disapointment of the long expected monies and embarrasments consequent thereon are truly great. As I have so often troubled your Honor on this subject, it is vastly disagreeable for me again to mention it, but duty compels me. Permit me then, Sir, to say that the service is suffering unspeakably. * Clothing and stores for which there has been the most positive orders to forward totally stoped, recruits detain'd from marching to joyn their

corps, the purchase of duck, lead, and other stores, for which there is the most pressing calls, neglected, the reg^{ts} of guards and troops of the Convention suffering for fuel, and constant representations that building and fences will be destroyed or the troops dispersed. These are not exaggerations, Sir. If it should be asked whether the supplies cannot be procured on credit, I answer that supplies have been so long obtained in that way, and so many assurances given that payment should be made in a few days, that creditors will supply us no longer. Under these distressed circumstances, and to prevent the troops from dispersing I did a day or two since lay our situation before the General Assembly, and begged their aid. They have appointed a committee to borrow a sum of money (their treasury being exhausted), which they are endeavouring to do, but how disagreeable, Sir, must my situation be under these embarrassments, and perhaps by and by be blamed too for not completing business which it is not in my power to effect. Duty to myself therefore constrains me to declare, and I do declare to the Hon. Congress and the world, that, through the want of the necessary supplies of money for this department the publick service does and unavoidably will suffer greatly, and that it is not in my power with the utmost exertion to prevent it.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept my warmest acknowledgments for your particular attention to us as expressed in your last and several other letters.

The transports designed to receive the troops of the Convention have at length arrived at Cape Cod (not knowing that the troops were to be detained by order of Congress), and on Sunday a flag came up to know where they were to embarke. I do my self the honor to enclose several letters and papers that passed on the occasion.

Enclosed also is a request of Lt. Col^o Sutherland of the

47th Reg^t, on which I wish a signification of the pleasure of Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Honor's most ob^t, hlb^l serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. H. LAURENS, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, March 21st, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I received the honor of yours of the 27th ult^o p^r Cap^t Gooch; shall communicate your advice to Brigadier Gen^l Learned immediately.

Col^o Lee has been anxiously waiting an answer to his request for leave to resign his commission, and was much disappointed on finding that your Excellency had not mentioned it in your last. He has beg'd of me again to renew his request for leave to resign, representing that his private interest will be ruined unless it be granted, and that duty to himself and family constrain him to urge the matter and begs that his resignation may be accepted as soon as may be.

Congress have given L^t Col^o Anstruther leave to go to Rhode Island to negotiate an exchange for himself, but have restricted it to Col^o Ethan Allen, unless he should have been exchanged for L^t Col^o Campbell; they have also directed me to acquaint Lord Napier, and any other officer who may apply for liberty to go within the enemy's posts to negotiate a personal exchange, that Congress do not think it expedient to continue to grant passports for that purpose as such exchanges may be effected in the customary way. Lord Napier being exceeding anxious to be exchanged, I would solicit your Excellency's assistance to effect it. His rank is no more than that of a Lieut.

Lt. Gen^l Burgoyne will go home in a few days. We are now preparing the acco^{ts} for settlement. He is to replace a considerable quantity of the provisions, which I think is a happy circumstance in our favor at this time.

I am surprised at the accounts which I see in letters wrote by gen^l in the army of the great nakedness of the troops and that little or no clothing has arrived. *Large* quantities have been long since sent from hence, and receipts received of its safe delivery at Fish Kill; what can have become of it?

We are here suffering every inconvenience imaginable on account of the want of money, and permit me, Sir, to express my own sentiments that without a change of our present system with respect to the army finances and magazines I fear we shall have but little to boast of. We must have a permanent army. Promiscuous crowds, for they cannot be called soldiers untill they are disciplined, hurried into the field for a few months, a considerable part of which time spent in marching too and from the camp; and when they are there uninured to the fatigues and hardships of the field, they soon contract the disorders incident in armies, grow dissipated, sicken and many die, and those that return being often weak and ematiated are a discouragement to those who are next to turn out. Nither can we in the field depend on those temporary levies to make a formal and close attack on veteran soldiers; nor is this all, by these frequent drafts the fields are left uncultivated or crops ungathered, the peasants dicouraged, the supplies of the army straitned, magazines emtey, and the high prices of provisions severely felt by the community at large. There must, my dear General, be a revision of the present mode of carrying on the war; the men must be engaged for so long time at least as will allow their being formed soldiers, for permit me to assert that those who view discipline as a matter of but little or no consideration will

ere the war is finished be convinced that it is of the highest importance. Your Excellency is also sensible that the having magazines of provisions, clothing, &c, sufficient for the exigencies of the army properly deposited, and the finances so certain as to defrey the necessary expences of every campaign seasonably are as essential to the keeping an army on foot or rendering it formidable as its numbers or discipline. It is undoubtedly in our power with a common blessing to crush our enemies. I wish I was convinced that we were pursuing the most happy way at present to effect it. Pardon me, Sir, in this obtrusion. Concern for my dear country has compelled me to write thus much. I sincerely feel for you who must experiance the keenest sensations on the review of our situation which every day must present itself to you.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's.

Enclosed is a request from Major Swasey (a good officer) for leave to resign his commission.

JOHN BURGOYNE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMBRIDGE, March 26th, 1778.

SIR, — I have received the inclosed certificate from the surgeon of the British hospital concerning the state of Major Agnew, which I beg leave to commit as a point of humanity to your consideration, and have no doubt of your granting him the same indulgence you shewed to Captain Fermor under much the same circumstance.

Your officer who brought me General Glover's account informs me that a flag of truce arrived last night from Captain Dalrymple. I take it for granted there are let-

ters for me, and beg the favour of you to forward them to me as soon as possible.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

M. G^l HEATH.

JAMES WARREN * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PLYM^o, March 26th, 1778.

SIR,—I think it proper you should be informed that the enemy at Cape Cod Harbour are driving a very curious stroke. We have intelligence here, which I suppose is authentic, that many of our vessels from the Southern States and the West Indies are daily taken and carried in there. Whether this is done by those that come under the pretension of a flagg or by others, I am not able to say; nor do I think it very material. While they remain there under that situation, surely it should not be made a rendezvous for cruising ships, and our vessels by our confidence in their professions be betrayed into captivity. English honour must be a subject of burlesque in future. Punic or Gallic faith, so long the subject of ridicule in ancient and modern history, must drop into oblivion, and give place to the more ridiculous idea of English honour and virtue. The question may be how we can help ourselves. It may be a question difficult to answer, but if you have Gen^l Burgoyne still in your power, I beg leave to suggest it as my opinion that the laws of God, of Nature, and Nations, as well as sound policy, would justify his being detained till every vessel taken is discharged with her cargo. The subject appears to me important; you will therefore excuse this trouble,

From your friend and very humb^l serv^t.

J. WARREN.

Honb^l General HEATH.

* For a notice of James Warren, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 360 n. — EDS.

WILLIAM AGNEW TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SIR, — Encouraged by the general good character you bear in this country for humanity, I cannot help laying my particular distressed situation before you, a distress the more grievous as there is but small hopes of my ever getting the better of it. On the 19th of September last I was shot thro' the body and the arm, in consequence of which I was for some time in imminent danger of my life, my wounds are now closed up, but a stiffness, contraction and pain on using, remains in my shoulder, and rather increases then diminishes, tho' I have used during the winter every means pointed out to me by the physical gentlemen belonging to this army, men of eminence in their profession; but all in vain, they now tell me the only chance I have of ever recovering the use of my shoulder, is the using the hot baths in England or the south of France soon and for a continuance of time. I hope, Sir, this unfortunate situation will plead my appology for troubling you with this, and that you will have the goodness to grant me permission to go to Europe, either upon parole or exchange, or any other method that may be consistant, as there is great danger of the contraction in my shoulder by continuance getting so obstinate that all remedies will be ineffectual, and render me a cripple for life.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

WILLIAM AGNEW, *Major 24th Reg^t.*

CAMBRIDGE, 27th March, 1778.

His Excellency. General HEATH, Boston.

AGREEMENT AS TO THE PAYMENT FOR PROVISIONS, ETC.

Articles of Agreement between his Excellency Lieutenant General Burgoyne and the Honorable Major General Heath respecting the payment of provisions, fuel, &c., furnished to the troops of the Convention.

1st

It is agreed on the part of Lieutenant General Burgoyne that a quantity of barrel provision equal to the quantity charged to General Burgoyne by Mr Commissary Miller in his accounts dated 13th and 31st Jan^y and 28th February shall be sent to Boston as speedily as circumstances will permit, that is to say, one half of the said provision to be sent from Rhode Island and delivered at Boston to such officer as General Heath shall appoint for that purpose within twenty days after the arrival of General Burgoyne in said island. The residue, should it be necessary to send for it from New York, shall be delivered at Boston within forty days after General Burgoyne arrives as aforesaid. It is also agreed on the part of General Burgoyne to deposit such sums of solid coin at the rate stipulated in the Resolve of Congress of the 19th December last as shall be equivalent (conformable to Mr Commissary Miller's accounts) to the provision not sent from Rhode Island within the time limited as aforesaid, these sums to be put into the hands of such officer or commissary as General Heath shall appoint to accompany General Burgoyne to Rhode Island.

2nd

And it is further agreed that if the provision should not be delivered according to the above terms the deposit in as much as is equivalent to the provision so failing shall remain at the rate before specified with General Heath as payment of the account.

And it is further engaged by General Burgoyne to pay into the hands of the said officer appointed by Gen^l Heath to accompany General Burgoyne to Rhode Island the sum of twenty eight thousand nine hundred and fifty six pounds, nine shil^{ls} and ten pence lawful money of the State of Massachusetts Bay in solid coin at the rate of six shillings for every dollar, being the amount of the account charged to the troops for fuel. And it is also engaged by General Burgoyne to pay into the hands of [*blank*] the sum of [*blank*] in solid coin on account of the charges made by General Glover for the expenditure upon the march from Saratoga upon account of the troops.

It is engaged on the part of Major General Heath to refund to Major General Phillips, or the commanding officer of the troops of the Convention for the time being, the sums deposited as above agreed, or such parts of them as shall be redeemed by the delivery of provisions within the time above limited.

It is mutually agreed between the contracting parties that every thing herein contained shall be construed in a liberal sense, and particularly that no advantage shall be taken of any delays beyond the time limited for the delivery of the provisions, provided such delays appear to arise from accidents of the sea or weather.

To this agreement we have mutually pledged our faith and words of honor this 2nd day of April, 1778.

J. BURGoyNE, *L^t Gen^l*.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 6th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have to acknowledge the honor of the receipt of yours of the 5th and 12th ult^o. Gen^l Burgoyne was not gone when I was honored with your last enclosing one to him. He has expressed the greatest

pleasure and satisfaction on receiving your letter. I do my self the honor to enclose one from him. Yesterday about eleven o'clock he sit out for Rhode-Island. He expresses the strongest wishes for an accommodation.

I am exceedingly sorry that the wax did not come safe to hand, as it was very fine, and it is almost impossible to procure any, — as the messenger who carried it was to go to Congress I directed him to deliver it to Col^d Mifflin at Reading, and him to forward it to your Excellency.

Enclosed is a request from Cap^t Sewall of Col^o Lee's for leave to resign his commission in the army. He is a good officer. He represents that necessity compels him to resign, and indeed it is a malancholly consideration to find so many good officers daily applying for leave to resign their places in the army.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE TREASURY BOARD.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 6^h, 1778.

GEN^{tn}, — In obedience to the resolve of the Hon. Congress of the 14th Jan^{ry}, I do myself the honor to represent to you the great necessity of the D^y Q. M. Gen^l here for a supply of moneys for the purpose of purchasing fuel and duck and the transporting of stores is such as has obliged me already to furnish him with 87,000 dollars, out of the sum lately received here, and this is not the one third of the sum which he must some how be furnished with immediately or the service suffer a most essential injury. To elucidate this I will only just give you a state of facts. 96,521 dollars is the amount of the fuel account supplied the troops of the Convention to the 20th of March,

almost the whole of this supplied on credit, and those who have been doing of it loudly calling for their money; the fuel supplied all the other troops here in the same manner. By the resolve of the 6th January he is directed to provide 1,000 bell tents, and since by the Board of War to procure and send on all the tents possible to be obtained, with a large quantity of paper, &c. To this is to be added, a continual transporting of all kinds of stores to the different departments of the army, at a most exorbitant expence. I ask the attention of the Hon. Board to this matter a moment, when I think it will be very apparent that what he has received was not only absolutely [needed?] but that a further supply must be immediately afforded.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your ob^t serv^t.

Hon. Board of Treasury.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 13th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — I have been honored with the receipt of yours of the 25th ult^o.

On Wednesday next the British Royal Artillery and advance corps of the troops of the Convention are to march for Rutland, where they are to be quartered. Temporary barracks are to be immediately erected, and the other corps to follow.

About three hundred soldiers have been and now are undergoing the operation of the small pox. I shall forward them as soon as they are able to endure the fatigues of the march. I have put a stop to further inoculation, and agreeable to the signification of your pleasure have ordered all soldiers to march without delay and joyn their respective corps.

The ill consequences of inlisting deserters I have represented to the Council, and have also in the most solemn manner forbid the recruiting officers inlisting of them.

A flag sails in a few days for Hallifax when I shall pay strict attention to your Excellency's injunctions as expressed in yours of the 14th ult^o, the receipt of which I omitted to acknowledge in my last.

I cannot conclude this letter without representing to your Excellency the great and almost insuperable embarrassment under which we labour here on account of the insufficient supplies of money. 200,000 dollars is all that has been received by M^r Hancock, the D^y Paymaster, since the year commenced. He has received an order on the Loan Office at Providence for 100,000 dollars more, but not a farthing of it can as yet be obtained; 250,000 dollars have been sent to Providence for the use of that post. The fuel supplied the troops of the Convention, from the time of their arrival here to the 20th of March amounts to 96,521 dollars, and I suppose the quantity supplied the other troops and guards at the different posts to as much more. Duck and lead have been purchased to the amount of 50 or 60,000 dollars; the transportation of clothing and stores of every kind to the arsenals and to the army is almost continual and the expence surprising. To these may be added five or six months' pay due to the guards, artificers, &c. We have been borrowing almost the whole winter on publick and private credit untill it became nearly impossible to borrow longer. The arrival of the money has induced those of whom we have borrowed or who have supplied us to call for their dues and has almost at once convinced us how vastly insufficient the monies are which have been sent for the present exigences. I apprehend your Excellency will say, this you should represent to Congress. I do, my dear General, in every letter that I write them, and I

take the liberty to represent it to you also, that I may not be thought to neglect business which it is impossible for me to perform without the necessary supplies of money. A few days since I paid Cap^t Hopkins of Col^o Moylan's reg^t 18,000 dollars to enable him to discharge his acco^{ts} of boots, saddles, bridels, caps, &c, purchased for the reg^t. Major Blackeden I expect every moment to present an acco^t of nearly the same amount, but our pay office is now entirely exhausted ; in short scarcely an hour passes without calls for money from one quarter or other. The transportation of stores must stop and the service unavoidably suffer. No exertions of mine shall be wanting ; I am willing to spend and be spent, but without the means enbarrasment, vexation, and disappointment are our constant attendants. I expect every hour to receive a large sum of gold and silver from Gen^l Burgoyne, but the least advantage cannot be derived from it here, it being to be forwarded directly to the Treasury in Pennsylvania.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very hbb^l serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, PROVIDENCE, April 24th, 1778, 11 o'clock, A. M.

DEAR SIR,—I this moment received your favor of the 20th instant. Sincerely thank you for the intelligence contained. We had before seen the account in Boston paper, but no confirmations having arrived before your letter some of us began to doubt whether according to custom the printer had not given us a large story from a small foundation. I am therefore happy to have it confirmed by you and most sincerely congratulate you and my

country on the event. I have nothing new save that we have no troops. The enemy are fortifying Rhode Island with great industry. They are pulling down or rather have pulled down all the old buildings and many elegant ones. They have sent us up near a hundred families which they have reduced to ruin, and as fast as they ruin the others I think they will take the same measures with them. My servant will wait upon you with this. I beg you to direct him where he may purchase a quarter cask of the best port wine. You will oblige me by sending one of your young men to taste the wine.

I am, dear Sir, with much esteem,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

M. Gen^l HEATH.

JN^o SULLIVAN.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ROBERT PIGOT.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 24th, 1778.

SIR, — In a letter which I had the honor to receive from his Excellency Lieut. General Burgoyne, dated at Rhode-Island the 12th instant, his Excellency hints to me a new mode for the future supply of the troops of the Convention, and Major Morrison, your D^y Commissary General, has informed me that you propose sending to the harbour of Boston victuallers bearing flags loaded with provisions for the army of the Convention and such other necessaries for the use of the officers of that army, such as woollens, silks, &c, also tea, sugar, coffee, wines, spirits, and such other small stores as may be conducive to the more agreeable subsistence of themselves and familys, provided assurance is given for the safe entry and protec-

* Sir Robert Pigot was born at Patshull, Staffordshire, England, in 1720, and entered the army at an early age. He was present at the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and when this letter was written was in command of the British forces in Rhode Island. He died at Patshull, Aug. 2, 1796. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xiv. p. 232. — Eds.

tion of such victuallers bearing flags as aforesaid, and proper assistance for the unloading and transportation of such provisions and stores to the place or places where the troops of the Convention may be stationed,—the commissary of those troops paying the usual price and rates for such assistance and transportation.

To which proposals I reply, Sir, as follows, that transports bearing flags and demeaning themselves as such according to the custom of nations may enter the lower harbour of Boston, loaded with provisions for the use of the troops of the Convention, and such articles of clothing, tea, sugar, coffee, wines, spirits, and such other small stores as may be conducive to the comfort and subsistence of the officers of the Convention and their families; and that upon notice of such arrivals being given to myself or the commanding officer of the Continental troops in this State for the time being, permission shall be given to such flag or flags to come as far up the harbour as the Castle, one or more at a time as may be deemed proper by myself or other commanding officer of the Continental troops as aforesaid, and notice of such arrival shall be immediately communicated to the senior officer of the troops of the Convention for the time being, or to the commissary of those troops if he shall be vested with the power of receiving such provisions and other necessities; and upon the application of such senior officer of the Convention or the commissary as aforesaid, so many lighters or boats shall be provided as may be necessary or convenient to unload the transports, which shall be done after the cask, packages, &c, shall have been properly examined by such officer as I shall appoint for that purpose, and that such provisions and necessities shall be conveyed in the lighters or boats to Cambridge or Watertown as may be most convenient to the then station of the troops of the Convention, where they shall be deposited in such stores as may be assigned for that purpose, for the use of those

troops, and upon like application to the D^y Q. Master General of the American army in this department for the time being, such waggons or carts shall be furnished as may be necessary for the transporting such provisions and other necessaries to the place or places where the troops of the Convention may be quartered, the senior officer of the troops of the Convention paying for all such assistance of lighters, boats, waggons, carts, and labour the price and rates paid by the said D^y Q. Master Gen^l for the like service performed or done for the army of the United States, and that payment for such transportation and service be made in gold and silver at the rate of four shillings and six pence sterling for every dollar of the currency of the United States of America.

And to prevent difficulty or detention passports shall be sent to you for the permission of transports with flags to enter the harbour as aforesaid with such articles of provisions and necessarys as are specified in the bill of lading consigned to Jonⁿ Clark, Esq^r, Commissary to the troops of the Convention, which I would propose to have annexed to such passports respectively, that, after the discharge of the cargo of each transport and proper certificate given by the commissary, the transports under their flags shall be permitted to depart and return to the port from whence they came.

The foregoing I will immediately transmit to the Hon. Congress and if they approve of it (or no other mode shall have been adopted by the Commissioners who lately met at Germantown) you may be assured of the strictest attention to, and punctual performance of, every part thereof.

I am, Sir, your most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. G.*

Major Gen^l PIGOTT.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

[April, 1778.]

SIR, — The very handsome manner in which you were pleased to consider the state and release of my captivity lays me under the highest obligations. I am now getting into my chaise and have only to assure you that should it ever fall to my fortunate lot to enjoy the power of rendering you or any friend of yours a piece of service, it will give me the utmost pleasure and satisfaction to convince you how much I prize your repeated acts of kindness.

I was early informed of the very obliging interest which the Hon^{ble} M^r Adams was pleased to take in my exchange; should it happen to fall in your way to see him before I have a spare moment to acknowledge my sense of his friendship, it will exceedingly add to your goodness to acquaint him with my best respects and thanks upon the occasion.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and much obliged h^{ble} serv^t.

ARCH^d CAMPBELL, *Lieut Colo^l 71st Reg^t.*

The Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH, &c., &c., &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 4th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I this day forward from this place to the Treasury at York Town 127,334 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars in specie under the care of John Adams, Esq^r, who will have the honor to deliver this. The money is loaded on three waggon, the boxes marked musket carteredgeds, and

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 86. — Eds.

covered with upwards of 5,000 canteens for the purpose of deception. The escorte is commanded by Cap^t Hutchens of the State of New Hampshire. His detachment consists of between 80 and 100 men of the Hampshire troops who have principally been at home on furlough and to cure their wounds. I have directed Cap^t Hutchens to call upon Gen^l M^cDougall at Fish Kill, and ask his direction for the most safe and expeditious rout through the Jersies, and I would request that your Excellency, if you think there is any danger, would send such additional escorte to the most dangerous passes as you may think proper, not being acquainted where the greatest danger would be. Cap^t Hutchens has orders to escorte the money to York Town, unless he should receive your orders to the contrary. I therefore beg leave to submit to your Excellency the reinforcing or diminishing the escorte when and where you may think best, and that the canteens may be ordered to be unloaded at such place as may be most convenient if the waggons do not pass the army on their way to York Town.

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the safe arrival of two ships from France; one at Portsmouth, the other at Cape Ann loaded with clothing, both made up and in the peice, and many other articles of stores. These are part of the fleet ordered out on acco^t of the United States.

I do myself the honor to send you two pounds of the best wax and a few quills. Hope you have found the other ere this.

Agreeable to your instructions of the 14th March enclosing a letter from the Board of War of the 14th Febr^y I remonstrated to Major Gen^l Massey, commanding officer at Hallifax, on the unjustifiable treatment of M^r Heister. I have received a most haughty and insolent answer. Copy of my letter with his answer I take the liberty to enclose. I also enclose paragraph of a letter which I re-

ceived from Cap^t Willoc, late aid de camp to Gen^l Riedesel, who went to Hallifax in the flag by whom I wrote to Gen^l Massey, and to whom I mentioned the matter when here. M^r Heister obtained his flag from the Council, not from me. If your Excellency has any further instructions on this matter, I shall on sight obey them.

Enclosed is also a request from an Ensign Jones for leave to resign his commission, which I could wish might be accepted.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE TREASURY BOARD.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 4th, 1778.

GEN^{TS}, — Agreeable to the resolve of Congress of the 22nd Dec^r, 1777, I do myself the honor to transmit to the Treasury Board by the hands of John Adams, Esq^r, As^t D^y Paymaster Gen^l, two boxes of gold; the one, N^o 1, containing twelve thousand guineas, equall to 56,000 dollars; the other, N^o 2, containing eight thousand six hundred and eighty three guineas and one dollar, equall to 40,521 dollars and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar. The whole equal to 96,521 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, being so much received by D^y Q. M. Gen^l Chase of M^r Giddes, paymaster to the troops of the Convention, for fuel and straw supplied said troops between the time of their arrival at Cambridge, in the month of Nov^r last, and the 20th of March. I also transmit one box, N^o 3, containing eight hundred and seventeen guineas and three thousand dollars, and seven other boxes, N^o 4 to 11, containing three thousand dollars each, makeing in the whole 30,812 dollars and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar. This last sum I received of Brigadier Gen^l Glover, he having received

the same from M^r Giddes, Paymaster as aforesaid, for the supplies of provisions, fuel, and other necessities furnished the troops of the Convention by Gen^l Glover on their march from Saratoga to Cambridge; for this last sum I have signed three receipts of like tenor and date, for transmitting the said moneys to the Treasury, and desire upon receipt thereof that you would be pleased to note accordingly.

I am happy, Gen^l, in forwarding this sum to you, and as we are here suffering evry embarrasment and inconvenience to the great injury of the publick service on account of our wanting the necessary supplys of money, I hope in return to receive from you such a sum of continental currency as the exegency of our public affairs require.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most ob^t and very hbb^l serv^t.

The Hon^l Board of Treasury

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE TREASURY BOARD.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 4th, 1778.

GEN^l, — Since writing my other letter Brig^r Gen^l Glover has called upon me. He informs me that the publick monies which he received at Albany for supplying the troops of the Convention with fuel and other necessities on their march from Saratoga to Cambridge were insufficient for the purpose, and that he was obliged to advance a considerable sum of his own money in currency, which is now repaid by Gen. Burgoyne in solid coin. He apprehends that it is but just that he should receive a refund of his money in solid coin, which is for your Honors to determine. He informs me that he has wrote the Board on the subject. I have still in my hands a box of gold as a pledge for the delivery of a quantity of provisions by a

certain day which is not yet arrived ; if the provisions should not come, the money will remain as a discharge of the acco^t and shall be forwarded accordingly.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obt^t ser^t.

JOHN GOOCH TO WILLIAM HEATH.

The Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l Heath.

RUTLAND, June 12th, 1778.

SIR,—I beg leave to lay before your Honor the difficulties I have to incounter in procureing quarters for the officers.

On Sunday last I set out for Hardwick, by appointment of one of the selectmen of that town who informd me he would desire the congregation to stay after service, to know of the inhabitants who of them could or would accomodate the officers with quarters, but on some business being to be laid before the town of another nature they thought proper to call a meeting of the town to conviene on Monday afternoon, where I attended ; but to my great surprize found I had reason to suspect that the leading men, instead of affording me the assistance I required, had been makeing all the interest in their power to prevent the officers being quarterd, and the first step taken was to put to vote wether they would admitt the officers into the town, and a large majority was for not admitting them on any terms. I inform'd them that by the Convention they were to be quarter'd, and that my orders were to procure quarters, and that I look'd on the vote they had then pass'd as of no consequence, and should pay no regard to it, and that it was not in their power to support it, unless they voted themselves superior to the legislative body, to which they were or ough[t] to be subordinate. But unfortunately they are led by a set of men who want to be licencious rather than free, and have just sense or low

cunning sufficient to render them mischivous. On Tuesday several of the rational inhabitants came to tell me they would be happy to accomodate the officers, but their neighbours were so base they feared they would burn their houses. I finally prevaild on some to take a small part of the officers. A number of the inhabitants told me if I could procure an order of Council for the purpose of quartering they would be oblig'd to me to take quarters in their houses, as that would secure them from the malice of their neighbours.

I have here one of the most disagreeable situations possible, subject to a set of men chose into office from no other recommendation than that of being irrationally noisy; for my part I had rather be in a situation where I must be oblig'd to charge an enemy once a week than have anything to do with such wretches, who if there is not some care taken to prevent will soon gain such an ascendancy over the minds of the weak and timorous that a most abject slavery must succeed. They are in general men of contracted sentiments, fond of showing their importance, and most rediculously aim at being thought patriots, which they indeaver to demonstrate to the world by the most illiberal and illiterate harrangues. This is really a striking picture of the greater part of the leaders I have had the misfortune to transact with; these are the men in my present situation I must sooth in their follies and tamely bare their insults, a most mortifying circumstance, a situation so truly ridiculous that the Devil himself would be unwilling to change for; but on the whole I'm like to accomodate the officers, though with the greatest difficulty. All the hardships of a winter's campaign was a paradise to this.

I have the hon^r to be, with great respect,

Your most obed^t and most h^{ble} servant.

JOHN GOOCH, D^y Q. M. G^l.

Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

JOHN GOOCH TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HARDWICK, June 15, 1778.

I'm now here and have quarters for all the officers; but the inhabitants insist upon it that they shall not remain in this town and demand of me my orders for doing it. Beg your Honor will immediately send me such positive orders as may be satisfactory to the unbelieving or rather too credulous multitude. The best and most sensible of the inhabitation are for receiving them, but their neighbours threaten them in such a manner that they fear to receive them; but if the dissatisfied can but see an order for quartering them they will be content, but at present they are the D——, thus am I tormented and have no remedy. Mr Rugles, who goes express, will return with your Honor's answer, which beg may be soon, as I really am very unhappy and ashamed at their behavior.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect.

Your Honor's most obedient and most humble servant,

JN^o GOOCH, D^y Q. M. G^t.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HENRY LAURENS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, June 19th, 1778.

SIR, — Since my last of the 9th instant I have received the honor of yours of the 23rd p^r Cap^t Nevers.

The day before yesterday one of our sentinels posted at the foot of Prospect Hill shot a Lt Richard Brown of the troops of the Convention, for not stopping when repeatedly challenged, as he was riding out of the lines with two women. The orders given to the sentinels being not to allow any officer without side arms, or non commissioned officer, private soldier, woman or child

without a written passport pass the chain of sentry. Immediately upon my receiving the report of the officer's being shott, and that the sentinel was confined, I gave orders for his being kept so, and notice to be given to the coroner of the County of Middlesex that a jury of inquest might sit on the body for the investigation of the truth of facts. At the same time I wrote to Major General Phillips. I do myself the Honor to enclose copy thereof, N^o 1; a few minutes after I received a paper from him, N^o 2. The next morning I again wrote him, N^o 3, and a parole, N^o 4, and gave L^t Col^o Pollard written orders for the delivery thereof, N^o 5. General Phillips refusing to sign the parole, Col^o Pollard in obedience to my orders restricted him to the limits therein mentioned, and planted three sentinels around the house and gardens, in which state matters now remain. In consequence of this most audacious affront and insult offered by Major Gen^l Phillips to the honor and dignity of the Free, Independent and Soverign States of America I thought it my duty to take the foregoing steps with him, and now beg leave to represent the whole to the Hon. Congress for their approbation or disapprobation and further direction. Enclosed is also copy of the inquisition taken by the coroner. The epithets made use of by Gen^l Phillips as they are pointed at all the United States and at this in particular has given almost universal disgust here, and I am happy to say that the steps which I have taken meet a general approbation, but to Congress I must stand or fall.

General Phillips has behaved with great composure and decency *since* his confinement. I am confident he now sees his error and folly; his own officers condemn.

The victuallers having discharged their several cargoes of provisions sent here to replace such as were supplied the troops of the Convention the first four months of those troops being here, I do my self the honor to enclose a copy

of the state of the acco^t. The ballance of the account is now in my hands in gold. I beg to be informed of the pleasure of Congress, whether this sum shall be forward[ed] to the Treasury immediately or whether I shall defer it untill I receive the next payment,—the accounts being now preparing for the supplies of the months of March, April, and May. If this money is now sent on the expence will be considerable for a small sum, and when the other will be received is uncertain, as the acco^{ts} must first be present'd to S^r Henry Clinton before the money (which I believe is ready) is paid.

In a letter which a day or two since passed through my hands from Gen^l Pigot to Gen^l Phillips, the former acquaints the latter that more provisions were coming round for the troops.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Honor's most ob^t ser^t.

HON. HENRY LAURENS.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Gen^l Phillips in consequence of a letter which he has received from S^r W^m Howe, which also passed through my hands, and was the last he informed Gen^l Phillips that he should write him, and advised Gen^l Phillips to protest against the removal of any more of the troops of the Convention now to the interior parts of the country, which Gen^l Phillips has done. I have replied to him that he was undoubtedly right in protesting if he was instructed so to do, and that I conceived myself equally so when I was removing of them in consequence of express orders for that purpose.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOSHUA MERSEREAU.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, July 21st, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 17th instant came safe to hand. I had wrote to the sheriff of the County of

Middlesex respecting the soldiers of the 71st Reg^t mentioned in the list enclosed in your letter, and should have sent it this day, but was prevented by a member of Council calling at my quarters and informing me that he was very certain to have seen a letter, either from Congress or Gen^l Washington, in which it was expressed that if any prisoners of war should at any time decline being exchanged they should not be compelled to it. Whether he is mistaken or not I cannot tell, but have thought it adviseable not to send my letter to the sheriff untill I know further.

About forty of the 71st Reg^t who were on the hill are embarked on board a victualler bound for New York, and would have sailed this morning had the wind been fair, but since morning I have had a request from the Marine Department to detain the vessel a few days on a particular occasion.

I hope your health will soon be restored, and that you will be able to take a cruise with us, in quest of chowder, which we propose in a few days.

You will doubtless have had the particulars of the battle in the Jerseys, and the news of the arrival of the Count D'Estaing with the French squadron, which are said now to be blocking up New York. General Washington and the army, except Gen^l Wayne's brigade, have crossed Hudson's River, and we expect soon the arrival of some important intelligence from that quarter.

The Indians and Tories have lately nearly destroyed Susquehanaek, and inhumanly butchered many of the inhabitants.

We have complaints here that the prisoners of war, both British and Hessian, strole about the country and insult the inhabitants. I wish they may be kept as close as possible. If you should want a guard to escorte the prisoners to Providence, I have wrote Col^o Tyler to fur-

nish them, but the strength of his detachment will afford but a weak one.

This will be delivered to you by Cap^t Tuckerman, who goes to Rutland to give some directions about the baking business. You once mentioned an inclination to be concerned in that bussiness. I mentioned it to Cap^t Tuckerman. I find him inclined to take you in as a partner. You will find him a man of great integrity and very capable in his profession. The 20th Reg^t will come on the moment the barracks and quarters are ready. You will please to take the officers' paroles on their arrival.

I am, Sir, your ob^t serv^t.

Major MERSEREAU.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN SULLIVAN.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Augst 8th, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — In order to obtain frequent and authentick intelligence of the movements of your army and that of the enemy during the seige of Rhode Island, and to satisfy the minds of the people, exceedingly anxious to hear of the welfare and success of their friends, I have been induced to establish a regular mode for the conveyance of intelligence during the before mentioned time. I am to request your furtherance and patronage of this measure. Major Lyman, one of my aids de camp, who accompanies Gen^l Hancock in that capacity, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and civilities will daily collect and transmit the intelligence. I would request that you favor him with such as you may think proper to communicate, and that a small boat may be appropriated, for the daily carrying intelligence over to Tiverton. By this means we shall daily have authentick intelligence, and avoid a thousand idle tales which without this step would be imposed upon us. The Council

are much engaged in this plan. I am confident your readiness to oblige will incline you to facilitate it all in your power.

I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of respect and esteem,
Your ob^t serv^t.

M. Gen^l SULLIVAN.

W. HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, Aug^t 10th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — Here follows all the news I have been able to collect since morning.

The cannonade which continued very brisk for about two hours was occassiond by the French fleet's passing the enemies' batteries as they were going out to sea after the fleet which lay at the mouth of the harbour. They first appeard in sight yesterday just at night. Their numbers not known; from the best accounts there are not more than eight ships of the line besides a large number of frigates. The Admiral sent to Gen^l Sullivan that he should attack them in the morning, which obliged the land army to lay upon their oars till the event is known. The British, as soon as they saw the French, came to sail, every one makeing the best off he could. It was said the French fleet gaind upon them. The order of battle is as follows: The advance composed of the light troops, independant companies, and fifty men from each brigade advanced about 4 miles in front of the first line, commanded by Col^o Livingston. The first line composd of Vernum's brigade upon the right, Glover's on

* Daniel Lyman was born in Durham, Conn., Jan. 27, 1756, graduated at Yale College in 1776, and died at North Providence, R. I., Oct. 16, 1830. In the spring of 1777 he joined Col. William R. Lee's regiment, and for over a year was stationed at Boston. From May, 1778, to the end of the war he was on General Heath's staff. After peace was declared he settled at Newport, R. I., as a lawyer, and in May, 1812, he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. See Dexter's Yale Biographies, third series, pp. 615-617; Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, vol. x. p. 71. — Eds.

the left, Cornell's on the left of the center, Green's on the right of the center. The right division of the first line, com^d by Gen^l Vernum, the left by Gen^l Glover. The second line composd of Titcomb's brigade on the left, and Lovell's on the right, com^d by Gen^l Hancock. The reserve consists of Brown's and Holden's reg^{ts}, com^d by Col^o West. Noyce's reg^t to cover the left flank, Conn^t troops the right, flanking parties, &c. Gen^l Green com^{ds} the right wing; Marquis Le Fayette the left. Col^o Lawrence has 300 light troops advanced in the front of all, near two miles, to watch the motions of the enemy. The army are in fine spirits and determind to return victorious.

I am, dear Gen^l, with the greatest respect,
Y^r obed^t, hum^{le} serv^t.

D. LYMAN.

P. S. I am in Gen^l Sullivan's famely.

M. G. HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 11th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,—The French fleet have not returned. We shall wait no longer for them. To morrow morning at 4 o'clock the whole army advances. I send you enclosed the time of march and order of battle, with the numbers of the troops agreeable to the latest returns. A number of volunteers from New Hampshire are not included; they may possibly amount to 5 or 600. The enemies' principle fortification is on Domine hill. They keep entirely within their lines. Few deserters. No prisoners. Our pickett consists now of 800 men, com^d by a field officer. The enemy have 6 British and 6 German reg^{ts}, about 6,000 strong. We may expect favorable accounts from the French fleet. The Gen^l has this moment returnd from reviewing the army. They are a

fine body ofⁱ men from whose exertions we may expect the most happy decision. Affairs were the most promising aspect.

I am, d^r Gen^l, yours.

D. LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD Q^{RS}, RHODE ISLAND, Aug^t 11th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^t, — Agreeable to your request I set down to transmit you a detail of circumstances subsequent to our leaving Providence; and if pleasure consists in variety I flatter myself it will afford you no small entertainment. After collecting and uniting part of the motley and dissarang^d chaos of militia furnishd by this and the neighbouring States to the regular corps I have under my command, I directed their march to Tiverton, the place of general rendezvous, where I proposd arranging with more precision the dissmemberd parts of this unwieldy body, if any power less than the Almighty Fiat could reduce them to order. In this attempt or disposition I have been as distinct and particular as possible, assigning to each corps the posts and order they are to maintain and observe when marching or in action; and to the officers their respective commands in either instance, so that no just plea of ignorance shall be offerd in future for non-compliance of orders on their part, or want of success be attributed to negligence on mine. I had agreed with Count Destiang to attempt a landing on this side of the island the 10th instant, at which time he was to make a lodgement on the other side with four thousand men to co-operate with me in any measure offensive or defensive as our situation might require. On the 9th instant we rec^d certain information of the enemy's evacuating their works the preceeding even^g on the north end of the island. Upon this I call'd a council of war who

concurd with me in the expediency of possessing ourselves immediately of those works, without waiting the Count's landing, as the strength and situation of the redoubts would compensate for want of numbers. Col^o Topham's regiment was detach'd for and effected this purpose and was soon follow'd by a large part of the army. The embarkation and disembarkation were conducted with all possible regularity and dispatch. Three French frigates were sent round to cover our landing if necessary.

We had scarce regal'd ourselves with the comforts which this island so amply affords, when the appearance of a British fleet was denounc'd, which provd to be Lord Howe with a squadron of eight sail of the line and 12 frigates, with some transports under convoy, from New York. Count Destiang after ascertaining their numbers and force prepar'd to give them battle. And after passing the enemy's batterys on the side of the town, and returning their fire with a broadside, he drew up in line of battle and gave chace to the enemy, who did not think it prudent to wait the attack, but fled precipitately at his appearance. It is believ'd he overhauld them, as the firing of cannon was seen at a great distance, in the direction of his pursuit. I shall march tomorrow to the enemy's lines. Time [*torn*] permit me to be more particular.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Y^r very hble. serv^t.

The Honble. Gen^l HEATH.

JN^o SULLIVAN.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Augst 12th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yours of the 24th June and 3rd July came to hand by this day's post; where they have been so long detained I cannot conceive. As they contain

several peices of intelligence of the then motions of the enemy, had they come to hand in the usual time would have gratified the publick exceedingly. Be pleased, Sir, to accept my warmest acknowledgements of gratitude and thanks for the honor done me in writing of them.

I some time since received a resolve of Congress accepting the resignations of Col^o Lee and Major Swasey's commissions — the latter I do my self the honor to enclose. Col^o Lee is gone a voluntier on the expedition to Rhode Island, and I beleive commands the boats.

I am happy in having your Excellency's approbation of my conduct respecting the unfortunate death of Lt. Brown of the troops of the Convention.

All the military stores which some time since arrived at Portsmouth, to which your Excellency is pleased to allude in yours of the 3rd July, have been sent on to Springfield, and had I received the signification of your pleasure those for the horse should have been sent immediately to the North River.

The whole attention of the publick is turned to the Rhode Island expedition ; as I apprehend your Excellency has every intelligence directly from that place it will be needless for me to make mention of any from that quarter.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obt., hbb^{le} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

N. B. Cap^t Sewall's commission goes wth this.

His Exc^y Gen^l WASHINGTON.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD Q^{RS}, PORTSMOUTH, R. ISLAND, Aug^t 12th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — No movements to day on account of the rain. No intelligence from the French fleet. The army

suffers considerably, as the militia have but few tents. We wait for nothing but fair weather to advance. M. Gen^l Hancock is in fine spirits and sends compliments. The express has not been able to cross the ferry on account of the wind. Two boats have been sunk in the attempt. He waits till morning.

I am, d^r Gen^l, with respect, y^r hum^{le} serv^t.

D. LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

WILLIAM GREENE* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c.

PROVIDENCE, August 13th, 1778, 11 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,—I have just received by express a letter from Gen^l Sullivan, dated this day, at Rhode-Island, informing me that the severity of the storm hath been such that almost all his cartridges are wet, and urging me in the most pressing terms to send forward a large supply with all possible expedition. We have at present about twelve thousand cartridges made and not more than half a ton of powder, which I have ordered to be immediately made. I must therefore beg you to send forward with the utmost dispatch all the cartridges that can be had ready made, and a sufficient quantity of powder to supply the wants of the army, which can be made here as we have lead enough.

The French fleet went out on Monday last and were seen towards night coming up with the enemy very fast, who fled in great disorder. The main body of our army on Rhode-Island are posted on Quaker Hill. They are reduced to a most deploable situation for want of covering.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obed^t, hble. serv^t.

Gen^l HEATH.

W. GREENE, *Gov^r*.

* For a notice of Governor Greene, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 236 n. — Eds.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD Q^{RS}, RHODE ISLAND, August 13th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am directed by M. General Sullivan to inform you that from the excessive wind and rain for these two days, and want of covering for more than one half of the army, it has been impossible to prevent large numbers of cartridges from spoiling. As it is impossible to supply deficiencies from the military stores in this department, he requests in the most pressing manner that you would give orders for forwarding such quantities of cartridges as can possibly be spared from Boston. Your compliance will not only add one fresh obligation to the Gen^l, but be a means of most essentially promoting the present important expedition.

I am, Sir, your obed^t, hum^{le} serv^t.

D. LYMAN, *A. D. C.*

By order of M. G. Sullivan.

M. G. HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, Aug^t 15th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — At 6 o'clock this morning the army were paraded, and at 7 the signal for marching was given, when the whole began to advance. The advance corps two miles in the front of the first line, the first line in 4 columns, the pioneers going before to remove obstructions. About one quarter of mile in the rear of these the second line in two columns. Last the reserve. No march could be conducted with greater order and regularity; 10 minutes would have been long enough to have formed for the reception of any enemy. We arrived without opposition within two miles of the enemies' lines sometime in the afternoon, where the army now remains

encamp'd upon hills. Tomorrow we shall take possession of a hill on the enemies' right which commands a considerable part of their lines. Here our pickett is posted, consisting of about 1,000.

I am, d^r Gen^l, y^r hum^{le} serv^t.

D. LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM GREENE.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Augst 15th, 1778.

SIR, — Upon an application to the Board of War here orders were given by them the last evening for sending you the best powder in the State magazine, in consequence of which we this day find that a very small graind French pistol powder was sent, supposed to be the best. As I have some doubt of it, the moment I was acquainted with it I applied for 1,000 lb. more of musket powder of a larger grain, which is forwarding with the utmost dispatch. If you shoud think best not to make up the other, please to let it be sent back in one of the returning waggons, as it will prevent our paying a high price for it. The number of carterededges was 2,000 short of what I wrote you yesterday, being 36 instead of 38,000.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obt. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{cy} Gov^r GREEN.

THOMAS CRAFTS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Saterday, MIDDLETOWN, R. Is^d, Aug^t 15, 1778.

MY DEAR GEN^l, — I have been honor'd by yours of the 7th, 10th, and 11, for which I am extreamly oblidg'd. Since my last we had a sevre storm, wind and rain. The troops suffer'd much, but I have inquired and find their is not

many sick. The ammunition deliverd to the men was all damaged. My marquee blew down about 12 o'clock and I was out the remainder of the night. At day light could not discover one tent standing in camp. The storm retarded us three days. We have had not less than 20 or 30 deserters come in since we have been on the island. The French fleet has not yet return'd. This morning at six o'clock the whole army march'd from our encampment towards the enemy and arrived within a mile and half of Tammary Hill in full sight of the enemy where we are now encamp'd. The order of battle and march was as follows. The front line in four columns, Venum's, Glover's, Cornell's, and Green's brigads. Second line, Lovell's and Titcomb's brigades. Covering parties on the flanks of each line and flanking divisions to cover them. The reserves march'd in one column, commanded by Col^o West, with flanking parties the same as the lines. The heads of the colums kept dress the whole march and made a most grand appearance. The millitia beheaved to admiration. The cannon march'd on the flanks or r^t and left of the colums of each line; the cannon in the reserve in the rear. The right of the army is commanded by Gen^l Green and the left by the Marquis De Fayette; the 2nd line by Gen^l Hancock. Gen^l Venum commd^s the right of the front line, and Gen^l Glover the left. 12 o'clock; we are now call'd to arms; it's said the enemy are marching out in two columns. One o'clock; the alarm prov'd false, but am so fatigued must leave writing. Two sailors came out at dusk. They reports the enemy are in great confusion. I am of oppinion we can carry the town without attacking the fortress on Tammary Hill.

I am, my dear Gen^l, you most ob^t, hum^l ser^t.

THO^s CRAFTS.

Honble Major Gen^l HEATH.

P. S. Excuse blunders, I am almost a sleep. Present my regards to the gentlemen of your suite.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, Aug^t 16th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — Nothing but my duty to my General could have compeled me last evening, after the fatigues of the day, to have taken up my pen. From six in the morning till nine at night, I was scarcely off of my horse; and I can truly say, no day was ever so agreeably spent. If any pleasure can be derived from beholding order and regularity, where the contrary might rationally be expected, no one could see the movements of yesterday without being in raptures. A commander so accomplished, at the head of so fine a body of troops, can exist only where Gen^l Washington commands. The oldest and most experienced officers in service affirm that yesterday's march not only surpasses any they ever saw, but equals any they ever had an idea of. I have dwelt more largely on this subject than I otherwise should, did not the reflection affords me the greatest pleasure. I mentioned to you in a former letter a hill on our left which commands the enemies' front lines, about half a mile distant from their works. This evening at 6 o'clock, Gen^l Tyler's flanking division, Dyer's and Noyes's regiments, and a covering party of one thousand men from the first line, are to parade in the front of the army, where all the fascines, intrenching tools, gabions, and platform are order'd at the same time. I have not heard the Gen^l mention his design, but I believe it may be depended on that they are to advance upon this hill and break ground. It is thought if the enemies ever mean to advance from their lines this ground will be disputed. No accounts from the French fleet.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, dear General,

Your most obed^t and very hum^{le} serv^t.

DAN^l LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, R. ISLAND, near Newport, Aug^t 17th, 1778.
8 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GEN^l, — Last night a fatigue party of 800 men properly officered took possession of the hill on our left mentiond in my last, with a covering party of one thousand to support them, should the enemy attempt to drive them from their works. The darkness occasiond by the fog which was very thick prevented them from being discovered. They continued very peacibly at work till the morning; when the fog clearing away they left their works and retired behind the hill, having partly opened a covered way, and about half compleated a battery on the right of it. A number of cannon were fired this morning at persons in the trench, the enemy supposing them at work. An equal number of fatigue men, with a covering party, are now upon hill favored by a thick fog. They will probably not only compleat the works already begun, but finish a battery on the left of the covered way. By the day after to morrow we shall be able to open several batteries upon them, and I think it not unlikely that the firing will commence to morrow. No accounts from the French fleet.

I am, dear Gen^l, with the greatest respect,

Your hum^{le} serv^t.

M. G. HEATH.

D. LYMAN.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR NEWPORT, August 18th, 1778.
8 o'clock, Post Merⁿ.

DEAR GENERAL, — Last night the covered way and two batteries, one on the right, the other on the left, were almost compleated, a fatigue party of 400 men

have been employed during the day, which has provoked the enemy to fire 3 or 400 shot, but all to little purpose. The people continued their work. We had [on]ly two men slightly wounded. Two batteries, 4 guns each, will be compleated before morning.

I am, with the greatest respect, y^r hum^{ble} serv^t.

DAN^L LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR NEWPORT, Aug^t 19th, 1778.
9 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL,—Very little firing to day. We have two batteries compleated and shall have a third by morning, advanced 40 or 50 rods in front of those already built upon the left. Down the hill we shall have a chain of batteries in a line with the last mentioned; they will not only be better situated, but so much nearer that we shall annoy the enemy to much greater advantage. Every precaution is taken to prevent their makeing any advantage of a sally. We have upon an average 6 or 8 deserters p^r day; no prisoners. If I have leisure I will go tomorrow and take a plan of the works, which I will have the honor to enclose you. I cant sufficiently testify with how much sincerity I thank you for your most obligeing letters. I only wish an opportunity to increase any poor services that I may make some returns for the additional pleasure which results from the approbation of my Gen^l.

D^r Gen^l, adieu.

M. G. HEATH.

D. LYMAN.

THOMAS CRAFTS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FRIDAY MORNING, CAMP NEAR RH^o ISLAND, Aug^t 21, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I was honourd with yours of the 20 instant, and am happy my last gave you the

least pleasure. On the 19th we oppen'd one battery of four 18 pounders commanded by Lincoln of my reg^t. We soon silenced two of their redoubts, one they have intirely quitted, and the other they have not fired from since. We also killd two of the enemy and wounded one. We have had one kill'd and one wounded. On the 20th we oppen'd another battery of four 18 p^{ds} and two howitzers, and kept up a considerable fire yesterday, but with what affect cannot say. We are now making our advance very fast and expect in a few days to have one bomb battery and six others mounted with 24 and 18 p^{ds}. We oppen a battery this day of two 24 and two 18 p^r, near 200 yards advanced of the first. We have had 102 deserters from the enemy since my arrival in camp, 94 of which I have seen. The enemies' works, redoubts, lines, &c. &c., extend from Tammany Hill to a beach or neck near two miles, within which is a pond on their right and the river on their left. Yesterday we discovered a fleet of the mouth of the harbour, and I have the pleasure to inform you it is the French arrived and are this moment in sight and coming up the harbour or river. They have taken one frigate and one bomb ketch, one of their ships dismasted. We expect a grand sernade from the French ships on their passing the forts, and from our batteries and howitzers which we have plentifully supply'd for the purpose. We have had very foggy weather for 5 days, which was what retarded the fleet's coming in. I must quit as I am ordered down to the lines. The cannonade is began.

I am, with respect and esteem, dear Gen^l,

Your most ob^t, humble ser^t.

THO^s CRAFTS.

Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 21st, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — My indisposition has prevented my going to the lines to day; am informed we shall have upwards of 20 guns by tomorrow morning ready with several mortars. There has been little firing to day. To morrow we expect to silence some of their batteries, and the next day they will have it as hot as they can sup it. The French fleet are at anchor off the light house. The Admiral is dismasted and another ship has lost her foremast. A 74 is missing; she has not been seen since the storm. The army continues healthy.

I am, dear General, with the highest respect,

Your hum^{le} serv.

D. LYMAN.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 23^d, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — A very heavy and constant fire has been kept up from our batteries since morning; dont know what damage it may have done. The fire was exceedingly well directed.

When I wrote you last evening it was not certainly known that the French fleet had saild for Boston; therefore I omitted mentioning our conjectures, flattering myself they were not well founded, but to our sorrow we are compeled to believe that they saild for Boston yesterday. I shall make no observations respecting the manœuvre, but leave it to superior minds to pass what decission they please. Gen^l Sullivan's character must ever stand unimpeached, consequently the whole army.

I am, d^r Gen^l, with the highest respect, y^r hum^{le} serv^t.

D. LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

SAMUEL BARRETT * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

RHODE ISLAND, 23 Aug., 1778.

Sunday Afternoon.

HON^d AND DEAR SIR,—

(Too warm and therefore erased.) †

What could the worst enemy have done more to deceive and injure us than by the most specious allurements, and under every assurance of support, to draw us into a most critical and hazzardous enterprize and leave us in the very moment of execution, and by withdrawing that support either expose the flower of the New England States to be cut off or their reputation to unmerited censure.

And what must be the feelings of every generous mind on this trying occasion, — if this is Gallic faith we have formed a sweet and hopeful alliance !

Poor Lyman is obliged to read the Female Spectator and any thing he can catch up to keep it out of his thoughts. Do, bless you, says he, call another subject.

General Sullivan expresses the most cordial indignation at their conduct ; that when the presence of their fleet,

* Samuel Barrett was born in Boston, Jan. 18, 1740, graduated at Harvard College in 1758, received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1797, and died in his native town Aug. 25, 1798. "This gentleman in the early part of his life, after having received a liberal education, followed the honorable profession of a merchant, and evinced integrity and ability to all who were connected with him. In the period of our late Revolution, which his patriotism led him warmly to support, he was employed in procuring supplies of cloathing, &c., for the American army, which was much indebted to his care and diligence. After the peace, quitting his mercantile pursuits, he went into the study of the law, for which his classical taste and love of literature well qualified him. For several years he acted as a Justice of the Peace with unimpeached honor and impartiality, and at the time of his death was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Suffolk, and a Notary Public for the Port of Boston. The many who employed him in this capacity will bear witness to his accuracy, punctuality and dispatch in doing their business, as well as to his open and honorable conduct in every department of life. Their esteem and confidence attended him in life, and their regret and sorrow for his death embalm his memory. Mild and amiable in his disposition, sensible and well informed in his mind, and conciliating in his manners, he was universally beloved." See Columbian Centinel, Aug. 29, 1798. — Eps.

† Mr. Barrett's feelings on the withdrawal of the French fleet from the harbor of Newport were evidently too strong for utterance. He carefully erased with a knife, or other sharp instrument, the first three or four lines of his letter, and wrote these words in the blank space. — Eps.

especially a well directed bombardment from it, the augmentation of 4,300 regular troops, with the new levies daily coming in would have enabled the main body to have accomplish'd every wish in 48 hours, they should be so callous to every impression of honor, equity, and humanity as finally and decisively to oppose *an order to repair to Boston to refit*, to the security of one of the grandest objects, yea of the means of determining the British power in America and of bringing the war to an honorable close ; against the most complaisant intreaties, pressing remonstrances and at last the most solemn protest of the general officers.

How far general policy will admit these *Heroes of Flight* to be treated with the contempt they deserve, I am not able to say, but most sincerely shall regret any necessity of *Frenchifying* in our deportment on the occasion.

We are now reduced to the alternative of storming the works or rasing the seige.

The council of war must determine which.

Should any thing material occur tomorrow, and no greater contrast can any day present than this has, I shall write again.

I am, hon^d and dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and hum^l serv^t.

SAM^l BARRETT.

P. S. — Please to give no extracts of this letter.

Monday Morn^g.

DEAR SIR, — Nothing material to day. Gen^l Hancock going to-morrow will open every affair to you with every spring and motive.

General Sullivan fully approves the preceeding letter.

Yours ut supra.

S. B.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

Monday, P. M.

D^R SIR, — Since the above it has been found convenient to order all the heavy baggage and artillery to the other side the water, and to erect batteries near the landing to secure the retreat, and all the troops to the main except the Continental and draughts from the light troops and militia and to keep all the rest on the island, in expectation of recruits from the main army under General Gates and of the return of the French fleet, when no doubt we shall carry the island.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.RHODE ISLAND, the 23^d August, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — Whenever I have had the occasion of troubling you with my applications it has always been in matters of a small importance, tho they did afford me a great satisfaction, in being new proofs of your polite kindness towards me. One must feel always happy to be under obligations with and receive affectionate favors from a gentleman one desires so much to be intimately acquainted with as I desire the honor of your acquaintance; but I am in this moment writing upon an interesting subject, where not only my happiness, but the well fare of both France and America are deeply concern'd, and where I have the happiness to find that so important interests are in some measure in the hands of such a man as General Heath.

✓ You have follow'd all the circumstances of the French fleet, since it was sent by the king as a support for his allies and a mark of his attachment to their interests; your ports were blockaded, the coasts infested with men of war, the enemy's frigattes (I need not mention) were our greatest trouble in this country. Now the harbours have been opened, many of the frigattes taken or burnt,

no man of war dares venture upon a cruize, and the English fleet is oblig'd or to lay conceal'd in theyr New York or to run away shamefully before the Count Destaing.

But, my dear Sir, these services my country looks upon as an imperfect proof of theyr zeal for the common cause ; they want to help General Washington to coöperate with us, to lend us, even those men who are necessary on board of theyr ships, and in a word to destroy the common ennemy by any means which may be thaught proper by us. What would have been the fate of Lord Howe and G^{nl} Clinton had the fleet arriv'd at time before Philadelphia or Sandy Hook you very perfectly know. The winds were right against them a part of theyr way, and the winds you know are the great rulers in maritime affairs. They immediately went before New York, offered the battle for fifteen days, were flatter'd with the hope of entering in the harbour, and after a great loss of time were assur'd by every body that it was absolutely impossible on account of the deapth of the water, what the admiral convinc'd himself of by sounding the pass. Then Rhode island was propos'd to them, and they chearfully accepted ; they lost also a great time before the American troops were ready, in expecting which they were desir'd not to come in the river, what they comply'd to tho' with reluctance in theyr own mind. At lenght we were ready ; they went in under all the ennemy's batteries ; they took, burnt theyr frigattes, they cut of theyr communications, they did what was to be expected from a fleet ; the same day the few troops they have on board were ready to land, a British fleet appear'd in sight. M^r le C^{te} Destaing was happy enough as to have the next morning a northerly wind. He immediately repass'd under the same batteries, movs against the British fleet, puts them to flight, and pursues them every where. In the middle of the victory, when the ennemy's fleet was ready to be destroy'd or taken, that extraor-

dinary and unheard of storm divides them all. The Languedoc of 110 guns, the Marseillais of 74 are dismasted and rendered unfitt for any service. The Cæsar was lost, and the British fleet makes theyr escape, with the trifling loss of two ships, among whom is a frigate.

However, the admiral had promis'd to come back here, and he kept his word; but as he had *instructions from the king* for going to Boston in case of any misfortune happening to his ships, as he receiv'd intelligence from G^{al} of the Americans that a superior fleet was arriv'd, as he received also the most pressing representations from his captains, as he was assur'd by American generals that we did not run any risk ourselves, and that his land troops were not necessary to us, he sail'd for Boston, in order to be soon ready for other operations such as they will be indicated by Congress and General Washington. There will be I dare say foolish histories shown in this occasion by Tories and rascals in case the enterprise against Rhode island fails, but it will be sufficient for G^{al} Heath that the M^s De Lafayette answers upon his honor of the sincerity of the above account, which you may communicate to your friends if deem'd necessary or useful.

Now, my dear Sir, I beg leave to call upon your friendship, upon your affection for your country, and your regard for mine, and to require your endeavours for putting the fleet in such a situation as to shut soon the mouth of our internal and external ennemies. Monsieur de Pleville, lieutenant of the ship the Languedoc, will wait on you, and take your directions, in asking your advices, your countenance, and whatever may depend on you in that affair. He is intrusted with orders from the admiral, and may explain you his wants better than I would do. I will, however, mention four particular points.

Masts are the grand affair; both ships have lost theirs, they must immediately be sent for from Portsmouth. We can't find any big enough, but provided they have the

sufficient length you know that they may be made of several pieces.

The fleet is in the greatest want of *bisket, water, and provisions*; these articles could be ordered on, and kept ready immediately, — for the providing of so many ships is not a small affair.

Had not General Heath the command in Boston, I would feel very anxious for the fortifying, garrisoning, &c., of the sea ports.

If there is some white *good* cloth to be bought, I wish you would order it to be detain'd for the use of the two French battallions.

Any monney which will be advan'd, or any expense made, will be pay'd in hard monney as soon as apply'd for.

In expecting that circumstance will procure me soon the pleasure to see you, I have the honor to be, with the greatest regard,

Your affectionate,

THE M^s DELAFAYETTE.

His Excellency Mj^{or} G^{nl} HEATH, &c., &c.

THOMAS CRAFTS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

MONDAY, CAMP BEFORE NEWPORT, Aug^t 24, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — I have taken my pen with intent to write, but am at a great loss what to say. The Count De Esteang has abandoned us in our present enterprise by withdrawing his fleet; what effect it may have on the army is impossable for me to determine. They seem much shagreen'd at present. You and we have been much deceived with respect to the strength of our army, or they have greatly deminish'd since my last; the number is (secret and confidential 8,174 rank and

file, exclusive of y^e artillry). We have open'd two batteries since my last, one of four 24 p^{ds} and one of six 18 p^{rs}, and two bomb batteries with two French 10 inch mortors, one of which is split and the other of little consequence. The 13 inch mortor begins this day. We have had four artillee men kill'd and 3 wounded. I have now no expectation carraing the island, but by a desperate push. The risque is great; the enemies' redoubts strong and extensive, with a sufficient number of men to defend them. The expectation of the publick are great and justly so; my oppinion is we ought to resque every thing if their is a probility of success and trust the event with Heaven. We cannot stay long, for the enemy will be soon reinforced with a fleet and army, to return without making an attemp how humiliating and mortifying. How shall we account for the conduct of y^e Count De Estiang.

Thursday, 27. On y^e 24 at noon the drum major of my reg^t (Ross) was blown up; he was carring cartridge to the cannons in one of the batteries; he died the nexd day. We have been this three day removeing our heavy baggage and artillery to the north end of y^e island, where we are throuring up works in case of misfortune. We have evacuated all the forts, except two of four 18 p^{ds} each. When we shall remove from our present encampment cannot say. The enemy last night took of one of our pickets of a sub. and 28 men. A corporal and 2 men came of from the enemy night 25th, and one went from us to them. I am now call'd of; must beg leave to subscribe myself, my dear Gen^l,

Your most obt., hum^l serv^t.

T. CRAFTS.

Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

DANIEL LYMAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, August 25th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am at a loss what to write, — unless I unbosom myself, which I will do with the utmost confidence, assured that every thing will be safe in the breast of my Gen^l. Curiosity has no right to prey upon this letter. Every thing with us continued to wear the most promising aspect till the long wished for but unhappy moment arrived which brought back the Cⁿ de Estang with his squadron to this fatal isle. They were immediately consulted by Maj^r Gen^l Green and the Marquiss, who went on board the admiral with a letter from Gen^l Sullivan. The Gen^l having before received a letter from the Count informing him of the inconveniences he had received from the gale, and that it was the determination of the officers that the fleet should immediately sail for Boston to refit. Notwithstanding all that could be said by the Count, who it seems was averse to the measure, and the Generals, who most strongly protested against their going, promising every assistance to refit them immediately, they could not be changed from their purpose, tho at the same time convinced that the expedition was undertaken by the solicitation of the Count, and that the success of it entirely depended upon their exertions join'd to the land army. The Gen^l told them if they would stay 24 hours he would storm the enemies' line, but so great was their fear or their malice against their commander that argument had no effect. We are now fortifying the eminencies on the north end of the island to secure our retreat and moving our heavy baggage. I expect to set out on Thursday for Boston, when I shall have the honor to give you a particular account.

D^r Gen^l, adieu.

D. LYMAN.

M. G. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sept. 9th, 1778.

GENT^s, — A disturbance happened last night in the streets, between a number of French officers and a number of sailors or inhabitants which is a matter of serious consideration, and I am confident will have all due attention from your Honors. An officer of rank and distinguished family in France is supposed to be mortally wounded. I can scarcely express my uneasiness on this occasion, as I am apprehensive without the utmost exertions our great and good cause will be injured irreparably. The expressions uttered by many are truly surprising, and it may be that those who wish to make a scism at this time may be blowing the coal. Upon the first call for the troops the last night the rioters instantly dispersed, and if the strength of the garrison in town would admit of patrols they might happily prevent confusion and mischief in future. I am now interrupted by the coming in of Count D'Estaing's secretary and the major of the fleet. Their uneasiness is great. Every step possible must be taken to convince them of our sincerity and attachment, or the consequences may be the most disagreeable. I informed the French gentlemen that I was writing to the Hon^{ble} Council, and was confident they would take every measure in their power to detect the villians and to afford protection. I rest confident that your wisdom will direct to the most happy measures.

I have the honor to be.

Indorsed: To Council, relative to the disturbance wherein a French officer was wounded, &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO COMTE D'ESTAING.

HEAD QUARTERS, Sept. 9th, 1778.

SIR, — A very unhappy affair happened in this town the last night between* a number of Frenchmen belonging to your squadron and a number of American sailors. Which first began I cannot tell. But some French gentlemen hearing of it ran to suppress the disturbance, when two of them were much wounded. As soon as notice was received at my quarters of the disturbance the guards were ordered out to suppress it, but the rioters had dispersed before they reached the place. I want words to express the uneasiness which I feel on this occasion. I this morning wrote to the Council. They view the matter with indignation and are determined if possible to find out the offenders and make proper examples of them. Some of the hands belonging to the Marlborough privateer are suspected of being concerned in the riot. Orders are sent to the Castle to stop her untill the matter is fully inquired into. You cannot, Sir, feel more displeasure and concern at this conduct than I do, and I can only assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to bring offenders to justice and to prove with how much sincerity I prize and value the friendship of your Excellency and the officers and men of your squadron.

I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of this day. I cannot yet obtain the particulars of the burning of Bedford. I expect them this night or tomorrow, when I will immediately transmit them to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excel^{cy} Count D'ESTAING.

COMTE D'ESTAING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

EN RADE DE BOSTON, le 10 — 7^{bre}, 1778.

MONSIEUR, — J'ai l'honneur de remercier votre Excellence de la lettre qu'elle a eû la bonté de m'écrire hier, et qui m'est prevenue ce soir. C'est avec autant de douleur que de confiance dans votre justice et dans celle du Conseil que j'ai appris le malheur arrivé dans la nuit d'avant hier. La chose en elle même m'a pénétré de la plus vive affliction ; elle aurait été augmentée si elle avait pû l'être par le personel des officiers qui en sont les victimes. Nos ennemis communs se permettent tous les moyens ; persuadés que notre union nationale et particulière nous rendra mutuellement invincibles, et qu'elle les fera enfin succomber, il n'est rien qu'ils n'osent tenter, et les agents qu'ils conservent au milieu de vous n'ont que trop d'occasions d'exécuter leurs ordres destructifs. Imitateurs des troupes qui brûlent des villes sans deffense, ils sement clandestinement le feu de la discorde, et ils savent employer des gens qu'ils séduisent ou qu'ils abusent.

Ce n'est point contre ces derniers que je porte des plaintes, que je prie votre Excellence de mettre sous les yeux du Conseil. Je serais inconsolable qu'il y eut un seul des habitants de la métropole de l'Amerique punis pour cette fatale aventure ; si de fausses insinuations en avaient égaré quelqu'uns ; ce que je ne crois pas. Leur cœur et leur raison désavoueraient actuellement leur erreur, et je suis persuadé qu'ils en haïront davantage ceux qui les ont égaré. C'est assurément contre les moteurs de cet événement tous cachés qu'ils peuvent être, que la sagesse du Conseil ferat tomber tout le poids d'une juste sévérité. J'ai si bien compté sur l'active prévoyance des représentans d'un peuple libre que je n'ai mis aucun empressement dans l'expression de ma sensibilité. Des matelots dont beaucoup sont deserteurs de l'ennemi, tels qu'on dit que

se trouvait être ceux du corsaire Le Marlborough, ont paru sans doute des instrumens fort convenables pour opérer ce qu'a été fait. Les précautions, Monsieur, dont vous vous êtes occupé éclairciront peut-être la trame d'un complot, dont les véritables auteurs me paraissent assez connus. Le bruit public les menaçait déjà d'une décision du Conseil. Leur perfidie aurait voulu la mériter encore plus.

J'ai chargé M. le Chevalier de Borda, major de l'escadre, de mettre à la tête de notre boulangerie pour le temps qu'elle restera encore à terre un homme qui sache la langue avec ordre d'empêcher toute espèce de résistance de la part des boulangers dont on viendrait enlever le pain. La vie des hommes est infiniment préférable à la conservation de notre farine, toute nécessaire qu'elle nous est. Le chef boulanger, homme du pays, pourra reconnaître si ce sont des Américaines ou des citoyens traitres à leur patrie qui en agissent ainsi. Dans le premier cas nous ne réclamerons qu'avec douceur le droit de propriété avec des alliés qui nous sont aussi chers ; dans le second ce sera auprès de votre gouvernement que nous trouverons une réparation légitime, sur laquelle je compte. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, que si la police qu'un temps de guerre peut autoriser, vous décide à placer une garde à notre boulangerie, de donner à cette garde les mêmes ordres qu'auront désormais nos boulangers, et de défendre surtout que jamais vos soldats ne tirent, ny même en repoussant la force par la force, mais qu'ils se contentent de protéger paisiblement ce qui est à nous et de reconnaître les malfaiteurs. M. de Borda a déjà dû vous présenter cette requête de ma part.

L'incertitude dans laquelle vous êtes des mouvements des Anglais, et dont vous avez la bonté de me faire part, m'empêche de m'éloigner de la rade, et me priverait demain de la très grande satisfaction de profiter des bontés de son Excellence, Monsieur l'Honorable Général Hancock. Serez vous assez bons pour lui faire part de tout ce que con-

tient ma lettre. Monsieur De Grand Clos pourrat la traduire.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec respect, Monsieur, de votre Excellence,

Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur.

ESTAING.

A son Excellence Monsieur le Général HEATH, Major Général des troupes des Etats Unis de l'Amerique, et Commandant en Chef à Boston.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sep^t 10th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — Inclosed I do my self the honor to transmit the commission of Cap^t Robert Allen. late of Col^o Aldin's regiment, who had your Excellency's permission to resign.

Col^o Lee some time since receivd leave from Congress to resign his commission in the army. The time when the resignation was to take place I have settled with him, but have not taken his commission as his accounts are not settled. He informs me that he is ready for a settlement, and desires to be directed with whom and where it is to be done.

The night before last an unhappy affray happened here between a number of American and French sailors. Some French officers who were near the place, attempting to quell the disturbance, were much wounded; one I fear mortally. The guards instantly turned out to suppress the riot, but the rioters dispersed before the guard arrived at the place. Every step has been taken to discover and apprehend the persons concerned, and to satisfy the French gen^{tn} who appeared much alarmed on the occasion, and in particular that their officers should be insulted and wounded. The conduct of the Council has been very

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 94, 95. — EDS.

spirited. The guards patrolled the streets the last night to prevent further disturbance. The Count D'Estaing has assured me this day that he is fully satisfied that the inhabitants had no hand in the affray.

The enemy's fleet who landed a number of troops at Bedford on Saturday night is still hovering on that coast, and doubtless have intentions of further mischief. Measures are taken to call in the militia should an attempt be made this way, and sentinels constantly kept at the several bacons to give timely notice. If the situation of the army is such as will admit two or three of the continental battalions to come this way it would be of infinite service, greatly spirit the militia, and be a basis for them to build upon when occasion requires; your Excellency is fully sensible should such an event happen how necessary it would be and how much advantage may be expected from it.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD Q^{RS}, PROVIDENCE, Sept^r 15th, 78.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have rec^d letters from his Excellency General Washington subsequent to the date of my last to you, — in each of which he expresses (with great confidence) his opinion that a general movement of the British army will shortly take place. He is equally confident that the objects of their destination are Boston and the destruction of the French fleet. In this case would it not be prudent to remove the British prisoners to a considerable distance from their present place of confinement? If there were no other bad consequences attending so near what we have reason to suppose will be the seat of

action, the number of effective men which would be found necessary for their security would be so great a diminution of our repelling force as to render it, in my opinion, a sufficient consideration for their immediate removal. I would likewise beg leave to recommend to your consideration a precaution (which in case of invasion) must be attended with great advantages. I mean the use of beacons on commanding eminences to communicate an alarm, which might be [by ?] those means more universally and rapidly given than by any other mode of conveyance.

You may rely upon it, that nothing within the extent of my knowledge and power shall be wanting to impede their progress or entirely defeat the purpose of our enemy.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Y^r very hble. serv^t.

JN^o SULLIVAN.

The Honble. Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sept^r 15th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — The enemy's fleet which visited and destroyed a considerable part of Bedford on the 5th and 6th instant are now between Martha's Vinyard and Falmouth (Cape Cod). It is this day reported that their number is increased to seventy sail, and that they have made a demand on the inhabitants of the island for 300 head of cattle and 10,000 sheep. I think the enemy are meditating mischief this way; indeed the present wealth of this town, with the addition of the French fleet, is perhaps as great an object as has ever presented itself to the enemy in any one place during the present war, and will not this, Sir, with their chagrin for leaving this town when in their possession in a manner rather dishonorable, excite them by some vigorous exertion, if possible, to

retrieve their sullied reputation and give a blow the influence of which will be felt through Europe. Every appearance, circumstance and conjecture seem to confirm this. By a letter which I have this day received from Major General Sullivan, he is of opinion that the enemy have intentions this way, that their fleet will enter our bay whilst their land forces make a lodgement somewhere near Providence and endeavour to force a passage to and take possession of some commanding heights in the vicinity of the French fleet. But here I very much differ with him in sentiment. Can it be supposed that the enemy will land their army at the distance of forty or fifty miles, and attempt to force their passage through the country where innumerable obstacles may be thrown in their way by which their march will be greatly retarded, the militia have time to assemble, and our grand army advance, when by landing in this bay those obstacles will be almost entirely avoided. That the enemy will make a landing somewhere in the vicinity of Rhode Island for the purpose of making a diversion is probable. But if they have real intentions on this town or the fleet, the troops who are to effect the blockade will be landed not far from this place. This, however, I submit to your Excellency's better judgement.

Permit me to repeat a wish that a few continental battalions may be ordered this way, from the necessity and utility your Excellency will determine. The article of flour will be exceedingly wanted in this quarter; we have but a very trifling quantity now on hand. I have some time since wrote to the different purchasing commissaries in the most pressing terms on this head.

General Hancock desires me to present you his best respects. General Green is now here.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sep^r 21st, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — On Fryday last a vessel arrived at Piscataqua in 40 days from Nantz in France. Dispatches were yesterday brought up to the Count D'Estaing. The master of the vessel reports that on the 27th of July last a naval engagement happened off Ushant between the squadron of his Most Christian Majesty commanded by Monsieur de Chaffault, and the British fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel, which lasted three hours. 67 vessel were engaged, viz^t, 33 French and 34 English, frigates included on both sides, in which the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty got the advantage, the English fleet gave way and were pursued by the French to the Channel of England. On this important event permit me to congratulate your Excellency. I have just returned from on board the fleet. The Count D'Estaing informs me, that no mention is made of the engagement in his letters, which are dated some days before the engagement happened, but the truth of it may be depended on.

The Count informs me also that war was declared in France against England in the month of June, but not with the usual formalities. The King of England in his speech to the two Houses of Parliament on the subject of the Court of France acknowledgeing the independency of the United States having intimated that he should take proper notice of the conduct of that Court (or expressions nearly similar) the French Court conceived this if not fully a declaration of war, at least a declaration of the intentions of the British King. They have therefore sent to their several governors and commanders to act against the English as if at open war under formal declaration. The Count has accordingly received orders to act conformibly.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 97. — Eds.

The batteries at the entrance of our harbour are putting in the best condition for defence. The General Assembly have ordered in a large body of militia, to repair, compleat and garrison all the works around the harbour, untill the intentions of the enemy are known.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 25th, 1778.

GENTLEMEN, — By the enclosed, which I do myself the honor to lay before you, you will perceive that it is the opinion of his Excellency General Washing. that the present garrison should be augmented to 5,000 men. The garrison at present consists of about 1,000, exclusive of Col^o Crafts' reg^t of State artillery. From the present appearance of things and his Excellency's instructions I conceive it to be my duty to request that the number of men necessary to compleat the garrison to 5,000 may be ordered in as soon as possible.

The continental magazines are almost destitute of flour. I beg to be informed what quantity can be spared from the State stores on an emergency, to be accounted for by the Continent.

Permit me also to request to be informed whether any number of bacons other than those at Stoughton, Malden, and Weston have been erected by order of the Hon. Council, and if not, whether it would not be advisable to do it as soon as may be.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Honors' ob^t serv^t.

Hon. Council.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 26th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,—The enclosed is copy of a letter which I have just received from Major General Riedesel and Brig^r Gen^l Hamilton, with whom I have for some time transacted the public bussiness of the troops of Convention, having found it impossible to do business with propriety with Major General Phillips.

Your Excellency will observe what they advance, and that they seem rather to hold up an idea, that provisions may be coming; to this I can only say that its coming has not been mentioned in any letter lately from New York or Rhode Island that I have heard of. M^r Commissary Clark lately went to New York with the acco^{ts} of supplies furnished the troops of Convention. Whether he is to negotiate the forwarding provisions for the troops I cannot say. As the resolve of Congress and your Excellency's instructions direct their immediate removal, I shall without loss of time be makeing every preparation. If your Excellency should think proper to give any further orders respecting their removal, perhaps they will arrive by the time they are ready to march.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His E. G. W.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HARTFORD, Oct^r 28^h, 1778.

SIR,—General Washington haveing sent me a resolution of Congress of the 15^h instant relative to removeing the troops of the Convention from the State of Massachusetts

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 102, 103. — Eds.

Bay to Charlottville in Virginia, and as you will have the direction of their route thither, am desired by the General Assembly of this State to write you upon the subject, and to acquaint you that should said troops be destin'd to march thrō this State, their route must be thrō Waterbury and so on to Danbury. The other roads leading through this State to Fishkill, which are naturally very bad, are now so worn out as to become almost impassable and that said road mentioned being almost the only one on which supplies to and from the southern to the eastern States are transported, as that on which the American troops pass from New York State to the eastward, the country through which said road leads is already so far exhausted of forage that the cattle employd in the afors^d service are now supplied in some instances with that article transported more than thirty miles. Three brigades are already come hither, and three others are on their march to this place; should therefore the said prisoners go upon this road, which has been thus exhausted and will be more so by the troops now marching in this route, they would not only greatly impede those who now use it in the public service, but greatly injure the public interest in general, and as the route thrō the county of Berkshire into the State of New York will be thrō a country unexhausted and on a road in general good, and in no part of it attended with any extream difficulty, and also much nearer to the place of their destination, I beg leave to suggest and recommend to your consideration, whether it will not be best to destine their march thrō that route. Your answer will much oblige, and am, Sir, with esteem and regard your humble servant.

JONTH TRUMBULL.

The Hon^{ble} Maj^r General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct' 28th, 1778.

GEN^{TS}, — Having received orders from his Excellency General Washington, founded on a resolve of the Hon. Congress of the 15th instant, for puting in motion the troops of the Convention now in this State, in order to their removal to Charlottesville in the State of Virginia,

I propose to march the British in three divisions, the Germans in two, under proper escortes to Enfield in the State of Connecticut, where I shall deliver them to the orders of Governor Trumbull. The first division, both at Rutland and Cambridge, to begin their march on Wednesday next, unless unavoidably hindered; the other divisions to follow successively, preserving a day's march between each for the convenience both of the inhabitants and troops. The British are 2,263, including officers, the German 1,882. Considering the troops are to pass not far distant from our most important magazines, and also to restrain them from stroling, I propose that the escorte to each division of the British should consist of about 100 men, for the effecting of which I must request that your Honors would detach from the militia in the vicinity of Rutland two captains, 4 subalterns, and 140 men, including non commissioned officers, as a reinforcement to the guards at Rutland under the command of Col^o Gerrish, — this detachment to be dismissed as soon as the troops are delivered to the orders of Governor Trumbull. I am to request that this detachment may be at Rutland on or before Wednesday morning next. The present guards at Cambridge will be sufficient for an escorte to the Germans.

I am also to request that your Honors would empower one person at or near Cambridge and another at Rutland to take up waggons if the quarter masters should meet with difficulty in the obtaining of them.

The D^y Q. M. Gen. being particularly embarrassed for want of money on this emergency, I request your Honors would hear him, and if possible afford him some assistance, as I do not see how the troops can be removed without.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Honors' obbt serv.

Hon^l Council.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 30th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — At the pressing request of Brig^r Gen^l Hamilton, I have given permission to Cap^t Masters of the 24th Reg^t British attend'd by Cap^t Bliss to proceed to your Excellency, to receive your further orders with respect to a packet with which he is intrusted addressed to Gen^l S^r Henry Clinton.

As Major Gen^l Phillips intends writing to your Excellency, perhaps respecting his particular situation, which letter I shall not have an opportunity of seeing, I would beg leave just to observe that after my restricting him on the 18 June to the limits of his house, yards, and gardens, in consequence of a letter wrote by him on the 17th consequent on the unfortunate death of Lieu^t Brown, which restrictions were approved by the Hon. Congress, the whole of which has been notorious to your Excellency, I requested of the Hon. President of Congress his opinion how long it was expected that I should continue these restrictions. In a letter which I had the honor to receive from him of the 13th of Sep^r, he expresses himself as follows, "I apprehend Congress conclude that you will continue in force your order respecting Major Gen^l Phillips untill he shall have made such concessions as shall be satisfactory to your own honor as command-

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 103, 104. — Eds.

ing officer of a department in the service of the United States."

Instead of receiving any concessions from Major Gen^l Phillips respecting his first conduct in the case of Lieut Brown, I have since received several letters containing such expressions as I have thought it impossible with propriety and consistant with the honor and dignity of my country to transact public bussiness with him, and accordingly on the fith Oct^r I issued an order of which the enclosed is copy, puting in effect what from personal regard I omitted when I first restricted him to his quarters on the 18th June.*

Cap^t Masters being in haste prevents my sending copies of some of Gen^l Phillips's letters, which I will forward by the next oppertunity; they may perhaps arrive before your Excellency writes Gen^l Phillips an answer. Of their propriety or impropriety and also of my conduct theron your Excellency's wisdom will determine.

I am this moment honored with the receipt of yours of the 25th and one for his Excellency Count D'Estang.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest resp^t,

Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Cap^t Bliss, who accompanies Cap^t Masters, wishes to be informed whether he be exchanged or not.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 30th, 1778.

DEAR GEN^l, — I am still makeing every preparation for the march of the troops of the Convention on Wed-

* The correspondence between Generals Heath and Phillips, with the order restricting the latter "to the limits of his house, yards, and gardens," is printed at length in Heath's Memoirs. — Eds.

nesday next. As Sir Henry Clinton has not left New York, as appears by your Excellency's letter of the 25th just come to hand, perhaps he may attempt a rescue at or near the time that the troops pass Hudson's River, or in the Jerseys. I have endeavoured therefore to keep them in ignorance what rout they are to take further then Enfield. Your Excellency's superior wisdom will I am confident direct to such measures as will effectually defeat any such plan of Sir Henry, should he attempt it.

I have the honor to be.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Oct^r 31st, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — I now do myself the honor to enclose copies of several letters which have passed between Major General Phillips and me, if your Excellency should think it worth your while to give them a perusal.

The reasons of first restricting him to his house, &c., are fully known. The expressions contained in some of his letters since, in particular that of the first of Oct^r were the reasons for my refusing longer to transact public business with him. In every instance since the troops of the Convention have been placed under my direction, I have made it my aim to treat them with the utmost politeness, humanity, and generosity in every part of my conduct towards them.

Some time since Major Gen^l Phillips requested leave for Lieut^t Vallency, Ass^t Q. M. G. of the troops of Convention to go to New York to procure clothing for those troops; for particular reasons thinking it not for the interest of my country to allow L^t Vallency go in I refused it, but gave my consent for L^t Campbell, another

Ass^t Q. M. G. to go, who accordingly went in one of the returning flags (and has returned with the clothing). On the 27th Sep^t Gen^l Phillips again applied for leave for L^t Vallancy to go in. N^o. 1 is copy. As M^r Clark, the Commissary, was at that time going to Rhode Island and New York with the public acco^{ts}, and Lt. Campbell then prosecuting his commission, in a letter of the 30th to Gen^l. Phillips, N^o 2, I denied the request as unnecessary, on which I received an answer from him on the first Oct^r, N^o 3, on receipt of which having the honor to hold a commission in the army of the United States of America I thought it my duty to treat him in the manner I have done and cherfully submit my conduct to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obt. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excell^y Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JACOB GERRISH.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 1st, 1778.

SIR, — The Hon. Congress by their resolution of the 15th ulto. having been pleased to direct that the troops of the Convention should be removed from this State to Charlottesville in the State of Virginia, and his Excellency General Washington having directed me to put them in motion for that purpose, they are to begin their march on Wednesday morning next, both from Rutland and Cambridge, the British in three divisions, the first consist of the artillery, advance corps and 9th reg^t; the second division of the 20th and 21st reg^{ts}; the third division of the 24th, 47th and 62nd reg^{ts}.

* See Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, vol. vi. p. 367. Colonel Gerrish died at Newbury in 1817, at an advanced age.—Eds.

The German troops are also to march in three divisions, the first to consist of the dragoons, grenadiers, and reg^t of Rhetz; the second division of the regiments of Riedesel and Speckt; the third division the light infantry, regiment and artillery of Hesse Hanau. The troops are to be escorted by the detachment of your reg^t now doing duty at Rutland, which is to be reinforced with 2 captains, 4 subalterns, and 140 men from Brigadier Warner's brigade, who are to be at Rutland on Wednesday morning, and the detachment now doing duty at Cambridge. The escorte you will distribute to the several divisions in such manner as will best tend to preserve regularity and good order on the march. You will appoint such officers to the respective divisions as you may think best qualified to conduct them; you will have with you your 1^t col^o, major, and adjutant. The town major will also go on with you. Much attention will be necessary on the march to preserve order and prevent abuses to the persons or propertys of the good people of the several towns through which you march; and you will not allow either your own troops or those of the Convention to commit any with impunity. The divisions are to move successively and are to preserve a day's march between each. Whenever you halt fix certain limits beyond which you will not allow the troops to strole, and constantly keep such guards as will be sufficient to effect it. As you have long had the charge of the troops it [is] needless to observe to you the propriety of treating the officers with civility and politeness, and at the same time of preserving the dignity of command.

You will make all possible expedition and pursue the rout given you. You will send orders to the officers commanding at the magazines at Brookfield and Springfield to double their guards and continue so to do untill all the divisions have passed over the river. On the day you march the first division from Rutland you will send

notice of it to his Excellency Governor Trumbull. On your arrival at Enfield you will deliver the troops to the orders of Governor Trumbull, and take a receipt from the officer to whom you resign them. You will then return with your escorte with all possible dispatch, dismissing the detachment ordered from the militia of Gen^l Warner's brigade at such place as may be most convenient for them to return home, drawing provisions for them sufficient for that purpose.

You will leave a small guard both at Rutland and Cambridge for the security of the barracks during your absence, and on your return you will leave one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men at Rutland for the protection of the barracks and for performing other necessary duty at that place; with the remainder you will return to Cambridge, where you will receive further orders. Well knowing your zeal and ability I leave other matters to your own good judgment.

I am, Sir, your ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. You will please to give copy of such part of this as you may think necessary to the officers commanding divisions for their direction.

Indorsed: Marching Orders for Col^o Gerrish to march the Troops of Convention to Connecticut.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 2nd, 1778.

SIR, — I did myself the honor to write your Excellency on the 28th ult^o that the troops of the Convention would if possible begin their march for Charlottesville in Virginia on Wednesday morning next, but finding it impracticable I am obliged to defer it untill Saturday morning, when I hope every thing will be in readiness. An express will go

forward to your Excellency on the morning that the troops begin to move, finding the German rather unweildy in two divisions I have given orders to have them march in three divisions.

The troops are escorted by a guard of about 430 men, which I apprehend will be sufficient untill they reach Connecticut. Your Excellency will then order such escorte as you may think proper, perhaps as they approach Hudson River a stronger escorte will be needfull. An assistant quarter master and commissary will attend the troops from hence to the borders of Connecticut, and I would request your Excellency to call upon those who are fixed in the State of Connecticut to attend and furnish the necessary supplies through your State, unless your Exc^y should think proper to adopt some other mode.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Upwards of 120 teams will be necessary for the baggage.

His Excellency Governor TRUMBULL.

HORATIO GATES TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PALMER, 3^d November, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I inclose you a letter I received a few days ago from his Excellency the President of Congress, with a resolution of that honorable body of the 22th ultimo. It is a great surprize to me, as I did not in the least expect to be orderd to the eastward at this season of the year; and wish'd most earnestly to be permitted to make my own home my winter quarters, as I have not seen it since the war began. I must for the present obey our masters which, so long as I continue a soldier, I am

determin'd to do cheerfully ; therefore desire, if you are to remove to another command, that you will accomodate me with your present quarters, or let me know by the bearer how I can be supplid for the present.

I send you all the news I received last night from his Excellency Gen^l Washington, with some resolves of Congress relative to the Convention troops, and his letters to me upon that subject.

I hope to dine at Water Town on Thursday, and go to Boston in the evening ; when you have perused the extracts of Lord Sterling's letters, you will much oblige me in sending them to the Council. With much respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant.

HORATIO GATES.

Honble. Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, NOV^r 3rd, 1778.

SIR,—Since I had the honor to write you on yesterday, I have received the honor of yours of the 28th ult^o. I have not the direction of the rout of the troops of the Convention to Virginia, as your Excellency will observe by the paragraph of his Excellency General Washington's letter to me of the 21st ulto. on that subject, which I do myself the honor to enclose, any further than the borders of the State of Connecticut.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the badness of the roads and scarcity of forrage on the rout through the State of Connecticut, but as I am informd the roads are equally as bad or worse through the county of Berkshire. I am also informed that there are many disaffected persons on that rout, and as every preparation is made here for the troops going by the way of Enfield, the sev-

eral officers who are to have the charge of them gone on to Rutland to take the command and execute their orders, I do not see how an alteration can be made without much embarrasment and delay. I am sorry that your Excellency should have any trouble or difficulty on this occasion, but I do not know a gentleman whose abilities can better devise means to surmount them, and I am confident you will allow that I have already had my full share.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most ob^t, hble. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor TRUMBULL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 3rd, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — The last evening I received the honor of yours of the 27th ult^o, and by the same express a letter from Governor Trumbull, representing that the forrage on the road commonly travel'd to Fish Kill was nearly exhausted, and that the troops of the Convention could not be well supplied unless they took the rout of Waterbury and Danbury, or through the county of Berkshire into the State of New York. By the last mentioned rout the troops will not go through any part of the State of Connecticut. As the roads through the county of Berkshire are very bad, and as I am informed there are many disaffected on that rout, I think to send them on agreeable to my first plan to Enfield, to be further directed by Governor Trumbull, and in particular as every preparation is made in this State for the troops going that way agreeable to your Excellency's direction, and I do not see how an alteration of the rout can be made without creating embarrasment and delay.

I have made every necessary arrangement, until the troops quit this State, have sent an officer from the quarter gen^{ls} and commissary general's department to procure and furnish the necessary supplies, but how is that to be done after the troops leave this State? Your Excellency is pleased in your letter of the 21st with which I was honored, to mention the calling upon the different States on the rout for escorts and carriages, but no mention is therein made of provisions, from which I am at loss to determine whether it was your intention that an Ass^t Q. M. Gen^l and Commissary should go through with the troops, or whether those fixed in each State on the rout are to furnish the supplies as the troops pass, or the supreme executive authority of each State with the escorts and carriages are to make all other necessary provision also.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest res.,

Your Excellency's most obt. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HORATIO GATES.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov^r 5th, 1778.

SIR, — At one o'clock this morning I received by Messenger Draper the honor of yours of the 3rd instant from Palmer.

Your destination to the command of this district was as sudden and unexpected to me as to yourself.

I have not as yet received any orders to remove to another command, but shall be happy to accommodate you with my present quarters (unless you can obtain others more agreeable) as soon as I can collect my papers, pack up my baggage and have other quarters, which you are sensible, Sir, will take up a few days upon so short

notice. I am endeavouring to procure you quarters; in the mean time have applied to the Council for the house (called the Province House) formerly the residence of the Governor, but cannot obtain it. Have been equally unsuccessful in several other applications. The quartermaster is still looking for y^e purpose. All that I can say, my dear Sir, is that the best accommodations my quarters can afford are at your service.

This will delivered you by Col^o Lyman, whom I have desired to ride out and meet you. I would have done myself that honor, but indisposition forbids it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your ob^t serv^t.

Hon. Major Gen^l GATES.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BOSTON, Nov^r 12th, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — On the 8th I received the honor of yours of the 3rd inst^t, and this evening of that of the 6th.

Major General Gates haveing taken the command here the day before the receipt of the former, and received instructions similar to those contained in your Excellency's letter to me, mine were of course superseded.

I had not the least doubt but that Major General Phillips was to march with the Convention troops to Virginia, nither did I mean to hold up any such idea. It is true I did not mention his name in particular untill the 30th ult^o, the day on which I had the honor to write you when I wrote Gen^l Hamilton respecting him. After General Phillips's conduct, and the pleasure of Congress expressed to me thereon, I had and still have a doubt on my mind whether, consistant with the honor and dignity of these sovereign States which have been so grossly insulted, he could with propriety be sit at liberty and

march with as much freedom as the other officers, unless some concessions were made by him and without such concessions, I had determined (as I thought the honor of my country required) that he should go on under escorte, at least through the district which I had the honor to command. But Major General Gates having been appointed to the command of this district it now remains for him to determine.

The trouble and difficulty which I have had with the troops of Convention since they were placed under my direction are almost inconceivable, their numerous applications and equivocations, with my solicitude to preserve inviolate and unsullied the faith and honor of a rising empire in a matter so important and delicate as a Convention, and rendered more so by being the first in which its honor has been pledged, have required such close attention and exercise of mind almost without cessation as have injured my health, but this and more is due to my country and ready to be offered when she calls. The troops marched on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last in good order.

The intelligence which will be communicated by Mr Dodge relative to the present state of affairs in Canada will at this time be very fortunate.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obt. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency G. WASHⁿ.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, Dec^r 1st, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL, — This will be handed to you by the Hon. Mr Holker, agent to the Royal Marine and

Consul of France, whose known worth is universally acknowledged.

It is now more than three weeks since I had the honor to receive yours of the 29th Oct^r, incloseing the resolve of Congress of the 22nd of the same month appointing Major General Gates to the command of the Eastern District, which I acknowledged in mine of the 7th ulto., mentioning at the same time that General Gates had taken the command the day before. I was a little surprised that no mention was made in the resolve, or in your Excellency's letter which enclosed it, respecting me or my future destination, and have every day since been expecting to receive intimations of your pleasure, but to this moment have not received any. You cannot, my dear General, but suppose that in such a situation I must not only feel embarrassed but many disagreeable sensations. From all that I know as yet I cannot form a conclusion whether I am suspended from command, or when or where I am to act. I am some times told that I am to be ordered to Providence, to the southward, to the northward, to the main army, and some times that I am again to command here, the late change being only a political manœuvre. I am therefore endeavouring to settle my affairs and to be prepared for such orders as may be sent me, but having received none cannot rest longer without addressing you on the subject. I was this day almost determined to sit out for your quarters but the uncertainty where I am to act, and what baggage it would be necessary for me to take on, which must be in a considerable degree determined by the situation of the place to which I may be ordered, have induced me to defer it untill I hear further from your Excellency.

I am, &c.

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HORATIO GATES.

ROXBURY, Dec^r 19th, 1778.

SIR, — When I had the honor of calling at your quarters on yesterday you informed me that the flag which some time since arrived in the port of Boston with clothing, &c, for the troops of the Convention was seized and libel'd on account of her having some liquors, goods, &c, on board. As this flag arrived some twelve or fourteen days before I resigned the command, I thought it necessary on my return here to examine my files in order to find what indulgence or permissions had been granted to the troops of the Convention to furnish themselves with clothing, liquors, and other necessaries from Rhode Island, and find, that upon the arrival of these troops in this State they were prohibited purchasing any articles of clothing from our shops, as our own army at that time were suffering every inconvenience through the want of it and would if possible have their sufferings increased if the shops were frequented and the few articles in them bought up by the Convention troops. The same apprehensions subsisted with respect to liquors, and they were restricted purchasing except of certain commissaries appointed by the State to supply them untill they could supply themselves from Rhode Island. For a strict conformity to this a standing regulation was drawn in and subscribed to as part of their parole.

In the month of April last upon the arrival of Lt Genl Burgoyne at Rhode Island he with Genl Pigot proposed in future to supply the troops of Convention with provisions, clothing, and other necessary which might conduce to the comfort of themselves and familys, if protection could be obtained for vessels wearing flags to enter the

harbour of Boston and receive the necessary assistance for unloading and storeing such articles, and sent Major Morrison, a D^y Commissary Gen^l, to Boston to negotiate the business.

On the 24th of April I wrote Gen^l Pigot an answer that I should immediately transmit his proposals to Congress for their approbation or disapprobation, that if they obtained the former he might be assured that the strictest attention should be paid to the matter and every protection and assistance afforded to the vessels bringing provisions, clothing, liquors, necessaries, &c, for the troops of the Convention as proposed. On the 26th of the same month, I wrote Congress on the subject, takeing the liberty to enclose Gen^l Pigott's proposals as made by Major Morrison, and copy of my letter to him; and on the 23rd of May I had the honor to receive a letter from the Hon^l the President of Congress enclosing a resolution of that august body in the following words — "Resolved, That Congress approve of Major General Heath's conduct relative to the proposals made by Major Gen^l Pigot for supplying with provisions the troops who surrendered prisoners under the Convention of Saratoga."

On the same day that I wrote Congress (26th April) I wrote Major Gen^l Phillips on the subject, and sent him the letter which I had wrote to Gen^l Pigott, informing him at the same time, that while I was disposed to treat the officers of the Convention with every indulgence compatible with the duty of my station, I did disapprove of and was determined to prevent any inhabitant of the town of Boston or of this State purchasing or procuring goods or necessaries for themselves or familys from any port or place in possession of the British troops, and that if any articles, eatable or drinkable, or of clothing, furniture or ornaments should be brought, consigned to officers of the Convention but really designed for or intended directly or indirectly to be conveyed to any inhabitant of

this town or State, I should detain them and lay such prohibition as would effectually prevent such practises.

The late flag came for the sole purpose of bringing a number of articles for the troops of Convention, part of which were unloaded and stored at Cambridge. and part detained on board on account of the troops receiving orders to remove to the southward.

I have heard that before the troops left Cambridge, many of the goods which were sent up and stored there were sold by a Mr Hooke; but whether this was done to relieve the necessities of the troops who were destitute of money, or on account of the expense of transporting them to Virginia, I cannot say, but suppose that after the captain of the flag had delivered the goods from the vessel he could not have any further concern with them. I do not fully know for what reason the flag is detained, but being possessed of the foregoing facts, and considering how much attention and delicacy is due to a flag, unless evidently guilty of misconduct, I have thought it my duty without delay to present this state to you, in full confidence that your wisdom will dictate to such measures as will effectually preserve unsullied the honor and dignity of these sovereign States.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your ob^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I sit out this morning with an intent to have shewn you the several original papers, but before I reached your quarters was informed that you were gone to Charlestown. I therefore propose doing myself that honor on Monday next.

Hon. Major Gen^l GATES.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROXBURY, March 11th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — It is now upwards of four months since I had the honor to receive yours of the 29th of Oct^r, inclosing a resolve of the Hon. Congress of the 22nd of the same month directing that Major General Gates should forthwith repair to Boston to take command of the continental forces that were or might be in the eastern district. Your Excellency in that letter was pleased to observe, “I inclose you the copy of a resolve of Congress of the 22nd instant which came to hand yesterday,” and in your letter of the 6th of Nov^r you were pleased to observe that the command at Boston had by that time devolved on General Gates, without the least hint whether I was to remain here untill further orders or repair to some other post. From this indeterminate silence of the resolve and your Excellency’s letters as to my future destination, or what line of conduct it was my duty to pursue, I felt myself not a little embarrassed, which I took the liberty to express in a letter which I did myself the honor to address to your Excellency on the first of Decem^r, which I committed to the care of the Hon. M^r Holker for safe delivery. A very considerable time has since elapsed during which I have been most anxiously waiting an answer, but to this moment am not honored with one. This circumstance, with the silence of the resolve and your Excellency’s letters before mentioned respecting me, I must confess are to me incomprehensible. I must therefore intreat that your Excellency would be pleased to signify to me the reasons of it, that I may without further delay be able to act agreeable to your expectations, by pursuing that mode of conduct

* Washington’s answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 104, 105. — EDS.

which the interest of my country and my own honor require.

With the most perfect attachment and respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HORATIO GATES.

ROXBURY, March 24th, 1779.

SIR, — I cannot but again express an uneasiness which I have several times done verbally that the sum of money in gold which I received from the troops of the Convention still remains in my hand. This sum, which is something better than three thousand pounds lawfull money, is the ballence of the first account settled with those troops in the month of June last. As the sum was small, yet such as would require at least a small escorte, and perhaps occasion as much expence to the public to forward it to the Treasurey as a much larger sum, which I then expected would in a short time be paid by those troops on the second account, I took the liberty to write to the Hon. Congress on the 19th of June, requesting to be informed whether I should send the money then in hand to the Treasurey or retain it untill I received a further sum. In answer to which I had the honor to receive a letter of the 9th July from the Hon. President Laurens as follows, "That part of your letter of the 19th relative to gold which you have received for supplies to the troops of the Convention is committed to the Treasury; that Board is not yet fixed in an office in this city and therefore a report cannot be expected for some days. The moment I receive commands I shall put them in motion towards you." I was not, however, honored with any

commands respecting the money afterwards, the troops of the Convention being ordered to Virginia, and no probability of a further sum of money being received from them here, on the 19th of Nov^r I again wrote Congress requesting a signification of their pleasure, whether the money should be sent to the Treasury, be paid into your hand or otherwise, to which I have not yet received an answer. The resolution of Congress of the 22nd Dec^r, 1777, directing that such monies as are from time to time received shall be forthwith forwarded to the Treasury, and being apprehensive that this sum although small may be much wanted for public service, I am led to address you as the commanding officer of this department, and to request that you would receive the before mentiond money from me, or order such person or persons as you may think trusty and proper to receive and convey it to the Treasury Board, or otherwise, as may be most conducive to the public service.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, hbb^{le} serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. Major Gen GATES.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, April 22nd, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — It was not untill the last evening that I received the honor of yours of the 26th ult^o, which has relieved me from no small embarrassments arising from apprehensions least from my conduct I had in some degree forfeited the friendship of one whose approbation to merit is my ambition. I shall be ready with the greatest chearfullness to joyn the army by the time mentioned in your Excellency's letter.

Major General Gates left Boston the second instant for

Providence, since which I have exercised the command here.

The prizes lately taken by the continental frigates *Warren*, *Ranger*, and *Queen of France* are all safely arrived. The provisions on board these prizes are at this time a great acquisition, whether viewed as it respects our selves or the enemy. There are in the whole about 4,000 bbs., 1,800 of which are flour, an article for which we have been much distressed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

HORATIO GATES TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PROVIDENCE, April 30th, 1779 ; 10 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,—If any thing can be dear and sacred to you, I address you by that to send me, at least three hundred barrels of flower, to pacify the troops for the instant, and more as soon as you can.

There have been two mutinies these few days since. I dread the consequences of another; for the real cause of the mutinies is such, that I dare not—no, with equity I could not, exert the co-ercive part of my authority.

I believe, Sir, that you are a man of sense, a soldier, and patriot; why, then, should I needlessly attempt to describe my situation, at the head of an army starved by a scarcity, which three years ago the defenders of our rights would not have believed possible, had they been foretold the true cause.

Are we betrayed, or not? If we be, the enemy must know the state of our magazines, and the present disposition of our troops. They will certainly avail themselves of the opportunity. But, whatever be the consequence

with regard to me, I am conscious I have done my duty, in frequently warning, and at a seasonable time, Congress, the Commander in Chief, and the respective States that were most liable to suffer from the storm which I was afraid would burst upon our heads.

Firmly believing that you will likewise do your best endeavours to save your country, I am very affectionately, dear General,

Your most obed^t, hble. serv^t.

HORATIO GATES.

Honble. Maj. Gen. HEATH.

JOHN BEATTY* TO JOSHUA MERSEREAU.

HEAD QUARTERS, May 7th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favour'd with your letter of the 21st ult^o, and happy in hearing from the prizes lately made that we shall be enabled to pay our debts in the naval line, as hitherto in this particular our veracity has been call'd in question, not being able to fulfill our engagements.

From a representation of their extravagant price of provisions with you I was induced to propose to his Excellency and the Board of Warr, a removal of those prisoners of warr under your care to Lancaster in the State of Pennsylvania, and am confident the expences of their removal will not be adequate to their continuance their. I have as yet received no answer, but shall again urge it from the receipt of your letter.

I am sorry to inform that no exchange is like to take place. The commissioners who met at Amboy on the 12th ult^o, after conferring near two weeks, broke without

* For a notice of Colonel Beatty, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 435 n. — Eds.

doing any business more than discovering each other's sentiments on the occasion. I need not give you the particulars of the conference, as I presume you will shortly see it published; let it suffice for the present to say their claims were infinitely more absurd and extravagant than they were last Dec^r.

I shall thank you for a particular return of the prisoners made in those late captures, and you will please to observe that not one exchange is to be entered into without my previous knowledge and assent thereto.

I do not mean to be jockeyed out of my prisoners as heretofore. I am directed by the Marine Committee to send into New York Cap^t John Hill of the Jason for Cap^t Robert Mullen now on parole at Philadelphia, they being both captains of marines. I expect very shortly to order in the whole of those prisoners, but in the mean time would wish Captain Hill to be forwarded to New Port. Your letters with mine shall be duly forwarded. When you come down, please to fetch with you those accompts I ordered you payment on when last in Philadelphia. You recollect through mistake you took them back with you to Rutland. You will be as industrious as possible in collecting the prisoners of warr who are still stragling up and down the country and report to me their number and corps.

We have no news in this quarter, except some disagreeable accounts from the westward. The savages continue their depredations and become more numerous and formidable than ever. I fancy we shall detach a considerable force to route them this summer. I am rather apprehensive the Jersey brigade will be appointed to this duty. Our frontiers will ever be invested by the Indians, while those garrisons of Detroit and Niagara are suffered to remain.

I wish we may be able to cut of the whole Indian tribe. I would not leave one town or fortress standing.

Fire and sword must be carried through their whole country.

I am, Sir, with great esteem,
Your most obliged, hum^{le} servant.

JN^o BEATY,
Commissary Gen^l of Prisoners.

JOSHUA MERSEREAU Esq^r.

(Copy.)

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 8th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,—I have been honored with the receipt of yours of the 22nd ulto.

I never received any list of the officers' names under the Convention of Saratoga on their arrival at Cambridge as taken at the Convention. But do myself the honor to enclose copy of their names and ranks as subscribed to a parole soon after their arrival at Cambridge.

I take the liberty to enclose extract of a letter lately received from Major Gen^l Gates, which exhibits the situation of the army at Providence, in a most scanty condition as to bread, and indeed this is almost universally the case in this quarter. Upon receipt of the letter, I immediately applied to Council, obtained a press warrant to take up teams and forwarded on near 300 bls. of flour, which is the greatest part of the quantity in the magazines in this State. Should the enemy form an enterprise this way, and the assembling of a body of militia become necessary, the want of bread would oblige them almost as soon as assembled to disperse, unless supplies which we have not now should arrive. A quantity of flour has been expected at Springfield from Albany ever since the last fall, but none has arrived, unless within a few days past.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 106. — Eds.

The greatest possible difficulty subsists in procuring teams to forward on the large quantities of lead, clothing, &c, which are called for. The depreciation of the currency and the busy season prompts the teamsters to ask from 24/ to 30/ p^r mile for transportation, and to refuse to undertake for less. This is so enormous that I thought it my duty to request the interposition of the Council, who have issued an order to take up one hundred teams. Major Measum informed me yesterday that nearly as many more are wanted immediately. I have just solicited the further assistance of Council, hope I shall succeed, as I have ever found them cheerfully ready to exert themselves on every pressing occasion, but the present busy season will be an embarrassment. Major Measum also informs me that he is afraid there will be difficulty and delay in getting the clothing forward after it reaches Springfield, as Col^o Smith, the D. Q. M. G. there, is destitute of money. This I am sorry to hear, but the remedy is not in my power; no exertions of mine shall be wanting, in forward'g the stores to Springfield, further I cannot engage.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON.

JOHN NIXON AND OTHERS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

MOST HONORED SIR, — Your safe arrival to camp, and appointment to command the left division of the army, afford us peculiar satisfaction: your military knowledge, acquired by intense application, your glowing zeal for the rights, libertys and independency of these United States; your polite behaviour, decorated with the most tender feelings of humanity, and the assemblage of social

virtues cannot fail of rendering your person agreeable to all the true sons of freedom, but more especially to those whose happiness it is to be under your immediate command.

Permit us to congratulate your Honour upon your safe arrival to camp in this critical juncture, when persons of known abilities and experience joining us, is most animating; your coming inspires our hearts with joy and gladness, and revives in us the martial flame which long since hath been enkindled. We are not insensible of the honor you have done the State to which we belong, and the continent at large, in your assiduous discharge of the multiplied and various duties, which like an incessant torrent unavoidably rolled in upon you whilst in the town of Boston; the most intricate affairs you managed with the greatest ease, wisdom and patience, and your active, constant vigilance against the most subtil, enterprizing attempts and malevolent designs of the ill affected to subvert the foundation of our glorious struggle hath baffled their every effort: your importance in that department was very conspicuous, and your removal from it would have filled us with sensible pain, did we not view you like a rising sun from the east, diffusing your benign influence of usefulness in your circuit to the west. Here a more extended field is open'd for the display of military genius in the important service of an injured country, and where an active soul will be able to exhibit all the aggregate of military accomplishments.

Give us leave to assure your Honour that you may put the utmost confidence in the troops you command; which from raw, undisciplin'd civilians, accustomed to the ease, pleasure and comforts of a tranquil domestic life, have by experience learn'd to endure both the fatigues and hardness of a soldier, and to acquire the American fortitude, which is ever able to confront the most obstinate veterans of Great Britain.

We heartily wish you every blessing, whilst you give the most striking incontestible proofs of your valour, prudence and heroism in the last stages of the present war, and the expiring groans of British tyranny.

Most Honored Sir, be assured we have the pleasure, honor, and satisfaction to be, with the utmost respect,

Your most sincere, obedient and humble servants.

JN^o NIXON, *B. G.*

J. GREATON, *Col^o.*

RUFUS PUTNAM, *Col.*

THO^s NIXON, *Col^o.*

HEZth SMITH, *Chapⁿ.*

CONSTITUTION ISLAND, June 27th, 1779.

The Honorable Major General HEATH.

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Report of a Committee of Officers appointed to fix the prices of articles of provision held on the right wing.

CAMP, June 30th, 1779.

Agreeable to a general order of the right wing, the field officers, officers commanding regiments, principals of departments, and other gentlemen of the army, being assembled to regulate the prices of provisions, vegetables, spirits, sugar, &c., hereafter to be given to farmers and others selling to the army, have formed themselves into a committee and appointed Colonel Morgan, President.

The Committee considering the present depreciation of the currency, as well as the extravagant prices demanded for every necessary and convenience of life and the proportionate prices of every article of commerce, have agreed to give the following prices hereafter mentioned, and do recommend to all the officers of the army to give no higher prices than are hereby established, — viz.

Veal,	$\frac{1}{3}$ of a dollar p lb.
Mutton,	$\frac{1}{3}$.
Roasting piggs,	$\frac{1}{2}$.
Turkeys,	3 dollars each.
Geese,	2.
Ducks,	$\frac{2}{3}$.
Dung Fowls,	$\frac{1}{2}$.
Small Chicks,	$\frac{1}{3}$.
Cheese,	$\frac{1}{2}$ p lb.
Butter,	$1\frac{1}{3}$.
Eggs,	$\frac{1}{2}$ p doz.
Milk,	$\frac{1}{6}$ p qt.
Potatoes,	$1\frac{1}{3}$ p bushell.
Turnips,	1.
Cabbage,	$\frac{1}{6}$ per head.
Sallads, parsnips, carrots, &c. in proportion.	
West India rum, French brandy, and old peach, 4 dollars p quart.	
Common rum, whiskey, and apple brandy, $1\frac{1}{3}$ dollar p ^r quart.	
Cyder and beer, $\frac{1}{6}$ d°.	
Cyder royal and vinegar, $\frac{1}{3}$ d°.	
Brown Sugar, 2 dollars p lb.	
Lumb, $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars p lb.	
Loaf Sugar, 5 dollars p lb. Honey, 1 dollar p lb.	
In all exchanges of salt provision for fresh meat, vegetables, &c., salt pork and beef shall be rated at $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar p lb.	

Having agreed upon the foregoing rates, we report the same to the commanding officer of the right wing, agreeable to the aforesaid order and agree unanimously with the approbation and consent of the officers of the army in general, to observe the same inviolably, until a further regulation of rates shall take place; and we shall deem any officer or other gentleman of the army trespassing

against these regulations when established unworthy of confidence and respect and shall report him accordingly.

Subscribed by 10 Colonels, 3 Lt Colonels Commandr, 3 Majors Commandr, 1 Cap^t Commr, the senior Surgeon present of the flying hospital, the waggon M^r General, the Dep^y Com. General of Issues, the Commissary General of Forage, and the Superintendant of Artificers.

Agreable to a general order of the left wing of the army, a committee of officers from the several brigades met on the 6 instant to consider a report of a committee of the right wing for the purpose of fixing the prices of articles of provisions, vegetables, spirits, sugar, &c,—having maturely considered said report, feel disposed to acquiesce in the recommendation of the right wing, fixing the prices of provisions, &c, provided these prices are in proportion to those recommended by the associated citizens of Philadelphia or other associations for the purpose of appreciating the currency, and also provided the commander in chief approves the regulations so made and agreed to, and that by proper authority the same may be made obligatory upon the inhabitants near and within certain limitations of camp. Also that we should view ourselves happy in complying and inviolably adhering to reasonable, and as we apprehend necessary, regulations of this kind made by the people or citizens at large.

Signed in behalf of { RUFUS PUTNAM, *Col^o*.
Gen^l NIXON'S Bri- { J. CROCKER, *Lt. and P. M.*
gade. { B. HEYWOOD, *Cap. Lt and P. M.*

Gen^l PARSONS' Brig. { SAM^l WYLLYS, *Col.*
{ J. DURKEE, *Col^o*.
{ EBEN GRAY, *L^t Col. Comr.*

Gen^l HUNTINGTON'S. { HEMAN SWIFT, *Col^o*.
{ JOSⁿ STARR, *Col.*
{ ISAAC SHERMAN, *L^t Col.*

Copy

SETH LORING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

BOSTON, 7 July, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — The letter which I have the honor to inclose I took up this afternoon at the post office; wish it may contain orders for your immediate return to this place to take command of the expedition forming against the enemy at Penobscott, unless you have already a command that is more agreeable to you. Give me leave to assure you, Sir, that such a movement would not only be *agreeable* to every body here, but particularly *pleasing* to those who last had the honor of your company at Watertown.

As it is possible you may not have had an acc^t of this affair at the eastward, I will just inform you that about a month ago the enemy appeared off Penobscot with one 32 gun frigate, one 20 gun ship, one smaller arm^d vessel and six transports, soon after they landed about 800 men and near 60 pieces of artillery, and erected three forts, — one at Majorbaggaduce, one at Long Island, and one at Penobscott (old fort). Immediately upon receiving this intelligence the General Court ordered an expedition to be set on foot with all the armed vessels that could be procured, 1,500 men, to be raised in the three eastern counties and commanded by Brig^r Gen^l Lovell, and a detachment of 100 men from the State regiment of artillery, under the command of L^t Col^o Revere, with 6 p^s cannon 18 p^{drs}, 2 d^o 9 p^{drs}, 4 d^o 4 p^{drs}, and 2 howitz. A considerable augmentation to these is expected from the State of New Hampshire. We have already taken up 1,500 tons of transport for the troops, and the whole we expect will proceed on their destination by Sunday next. Our marine force will consist of

The Warren frigate 32 guns, com^d by Cap^t Saltinstall.

3 or 4 ships . . . of 20 guns

2 or 3 d^o . . . of 18 d^o

5 or 6 brigs . . . of 16 d^o and a number of small craft.

With this force we flatter ourselves that we shall be able to dislodge the enemy in the course of the present month, and I think the prospect is promising, provided they receive no reinforcements, which at present is not probable, as there can't be any sent them from Halifax, there being but a few troops, one 40 gun ship and a very small number of other vessels in the place; and we are in hopes our armament at the southward will be sufficient to engage their attention so as not to admit of any supplies from that quarter.

The expedition is a matter of much speculation here, and how well soever our expectations may be founded, I imagine it will not be so easily accomplished as many of our sanguine citizens suppose. Money being the sinews of war, our Gen^l Assembly, previous to their adjournment, voted £50,000, for the purpose of carrying on the expedition. 'Tis probable they will find it about as compitant to effect it as the £20,000, which the Provincial Congress voted for at Cambridge in 1775, was to provide complete magazines for the American war.

I some times wish it were possible you could be invisibly present at this place to see the *methodical* manner in which our military affairs are conducted. All are generals and pretend to be perfect masters of these matters as well as the business of the Court, — “in a multitude of Councillors there is wisdom,” — consequently we must suppose *the greatest facility and dispatch*. A gentleman just now observed that he lamented much that our naval force could not be immediately upon the spot, as the troops have already “*Congregated*” at the eastward. Excuse me, General, I will proceed no further; but assure you that

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble servant.

SETH LORING.

Hon^l Major Gen^l HEATH.

SETH LORING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

BOSTON, 17th July, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I had the honor of inclosing you in mine of the 7th instant p^r post a letter which came from the Continental War Office; hope ere this reaches you it will come safe to hand. In that letter I took the liberty of writing you an account of our movements in the expedition to Penobscott under the command of Brig^r Gen^l Lovell. I now inclose you a list of our naval force, which have been ready for sea this some time past, and will sail y^e first fair wind; they are much elated with the hopes of soon returning crowned with victory and laurels. This marine force appears to be much the leargest of any heitherto fixed out in America, and considering our situation and circumstances, I think we have made great dispatch. If the enemy do not leave Penobscott before the fleet arrive we have great reason to expect that our labours will not be fruitless.

I had the pleasure of a ride the other day to see your good lady and family, and was so happy as to find them well.

If the inclosed papers can afford you any amusement they are most heartily at your service, as also any thing else in my power to command.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your very humble servant.

SETH LORING.

Honble M. Gen^l HEATH.

List of the Ships of War, Armed Vessels and Transports on the Expedition to Penobscott, viz^t,

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Commanders</i>
Warren	32	Dudley Saltinstall, Esq ^r , Com ^{re} .
Hamden	22	Salter
Hector	22	John Carnes

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Commanders</i>
General Putnam	20	Daniel Waters
Vengeance	20	Thomas Thomas
Monmouth	20	Alexander Ross
Black Prince	20	Nath ^l West
Hunter	20	Nathan Brown
Charming Sally	20	Alex ^r Holmes
Sky Rocket	16	William Burk
<i>Brigs</i>		
Hazard	16	Jn ^o Foster Williams
Pallas	16	James Johnson
Active	14	Allen Hallet
Tyrannicide	14	John Cathcart
Defence	16	John Edmunds
Diligence	12	
<i>Sloops</i>		
Providence	12	Hoysted Hacker
Charming Sally	6	John Palmer
<i>Schooners</i>		
Hannah	6	Samuel Laha
21 Transports, Victuallers, &c.		

There are 1,500 troops to go from the three eastern counties in this State, and 100 of the reg^t of Artillery in Boston. The land forces are under the command of Brig^r Gen^l Lovell.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HIGH LANDS, July 22nd, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — The warm attachment which I feel for your person and family cannot be abated by time or distance, — pressing variety of business has prevented my writing you before, while inclination has constantly

urged me to it. I have enjoyed a fine state of health since I have been here, and am happy in the command with which I am honored.

The enemy at present are quiet. Their late wanton and barbarous conduct in Connecticut, insulting the aged and the fair, is scarcely to be parrelled. While they were in their full carreer and Stanford threatned with destruction, the fleet hovering off the harbour, our illustrious, our magnanimous Commander in Chief planned a most honorable and daring attack upon their strong works at Stoney Point, which were carried by a coup de main on the morning of the 16th ins^t by the light infantry of the army. The whole garrison except a very few being killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. About 60 were killed, and 40 or 50 wounded, with upwards of 500 prisoners. Iron ordnance taken 2 – 24p^{dr}, 2 – 18 p^d, 1 – 12 p^d brass, 2 – 12 heavy, 1 – d^o light, 1 – 10 inch mortar, 1 – 8 inch howitzer, one grass hopper, 2 royalls, and 2 cohorns, with 6 or 700 arms, a large quantity of fixed ammunition, a number of marquees, liquors &^c, &^c, &^c; our loss was inconsiderable, considering the enterprise. Indeed it is the prittiest affair that has happened during the war.

Our army is in fine health and spirits, but there are some murmerings with respect to their pay.

I hope your expedition eastward will be crowned with success. Several ships of war, one of 40 guns, have lately sailed from New York, it is said to cruise in Boston Bay, — probably their destination is to the eastward.

Present my most respectfull compliments to your amiable lady, & love to y^r brother.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,
dear Sir,

Your most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq^r.

NATHANAEL GREENE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, August 18th, 1779.

SIR, — I have been writing to all the general officers on a subject which respects myself.

When I was appointed Quarter Master General, I made a special reserve of my rank, and consequently of my command. In the late arrangement I have no particular command designated me. This I conceive to be an injury, and therefore have appealed to the officers to learn their sentiments upon two points. — First, whether my right to command in consequence of my rank, is not unquestionable? Secondly, whether any officer, upon just military principles, will have reason to complain of an injury from my exercising command in time of action agreeable to my rank?

To these two points, I wish you to give me your sentiments. There can be numberless instances adduced in support of my claim, from the custom and usages of other armies; but the particular reserve I made, I should suppose, puts the matter out of all doubt. If an officer is to loose his command, and be totally excluded from the honors of the line, in consequence of being appointed Quarter Master General, it will be a bar against any officer of rank accepting the appointment. That an officer of rank is necessary at the head of this business, every body must be sensible.

I have collected several of the officers' opinions. They are clear and decided in my favor upon the right and propriety of my claim. Your opinion will much oblige,

Your friend and humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO NATHANAEL GREENE.

MANDAVILLE'S, Augst 19th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored with your favor of yesterday, in which you express a wish to have my sentiments on two points: First, whether your right to command in consequence of your rank is not unquestionable; and secondly whether any officer, upon just military principles, will have reason to complain of an injury from your exercising command in time of action agreeable to your rank.

With respect to the first I am fully of opinion that you have an unquestionable right to command.

And with respect to the second, that no officer will have just reason to complain of injury being done to himself or the public in consequence of your exercising command in time of action agreeable to your rank, provided the great duties of your other department does not suffer; and I conceive it very possible for you to discharge the duties of both, since what is principally expected from an officer of your rank is a superintendency of the department, and not the execution of the minutiae of it.

I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Major Gen^l GREENE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN NIXON.

MANDAVILLE'S, Augst 21st, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — In a letter which I had the honor to receive from his Excellency General Washington this morning he is pleased to mention Major Lee with 400 men having surprised the enemy's garrison at Powles Hook on the night of the 18th instant, and bringing off the garrison consisting of about 150 men.

On this occasion his Excellency observes, "Such repeated instances of disgrace to the British arms will undoubtedly make them feel sore and seek opportunities to retaliate upon such parts of our army as are most accessible; than which none are more exposed than Nixon's and Glover's brigade. To this effect I have already written to General Howe, and wish you to give and, indeed, see that the necessary precautions are used to guard Nixon from a surprise." Being fully in sentiment with his Excellency, as well as in obedience to his directions, I would request that every precaution may be taken to prevent a surprise in every part where it is probable the enemy will attempt it. I think your picket guard had better be considerably reinforced, your guard at the crotch of the way leading to Robinson's increased to a subaltern's guard, and a serjeant's guard advanced from it on the road to Fort Independence, and that the sentinels are frequently removed in the night a small distance which will tend to deceive the enemy in his advance to surprise you. I would also have you immediately assign to each reg^t an alarm post, to which they will repair on the first instant that an alarm is given, whether in the day time or in the night. Let one regiment be assigned to the redoubt, the other two regiments to the most advantageous grounds near the redoubt. I think the hill south west of your encampment very commanding. A reg^t should alwaies be assigned to cover and support your artillery. Let small guards be posted on every avenue leading to your post, and patroles kept up with the greatest vigilance in the night time. All these precautions and more, my dear Sir, are necessary; for confident I am the enemy will attempt a blow some where if possible.

I am, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, dear Sir, your obedient

W. HEATH.

Gen^l NIXON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JEREMIAH POWELL.*

HIGHLANDS ON HUDSON RIVER, Sep^t 2st, 1779.

SIR, — Enclosed is an address and remonstrance, this morning presented to me by a committee of officers from the Massachusetts line of the army. I think it my duty to forward it by this first opportunity, and permit me to request that it may be laid before the Hon^{ble} General Assembly as soon as conveniently may be. Duty to my country and to those whom I see faithfully serving her interest under many hardships and discouragements constrain me to request it.

The State of Massachusetts have now in the field officers and soldiers who would do honor to any country. They are hardy, brave, and well disciplined, and perhaps equal to any troops in the world. They are sacrificing their ease, domestick happiness, exposing their lives to danger and encountering every species of hardship with unparalleled patience, but to hear these officers assure you that they have scarcely a change of linnen, or cloaths fit to mount a guard, to see soldiers bare footed marching over stones and roots, lugging heavy timber up precipices, &c, is as true as it is surprising, yet the hopes that their country will reward them, or, to use their own words, do them justice, makes them persevere. I am, however, confident that unless something be speedily done numbers of the officers must and will quit the service. Their own distresses and those of their suffering families cannot much longer subsist on the hopes of releif; it must actually be afforded. As the officers are very full and explicit in their memorial I will not add, save that with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be, your devoted, humble serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. JERE^m POWELL, Esq^r.

* For notice of Jeremiah Powell see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 126 n. — Eds.

ISRAEL KEITH TO WILLIAM HEATH.

BOSTON, 26th Sept^r, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I received the honor of your letter of the 1st Aug. in due time, for which I give you hearty thanks ; and I should have written sooner but I have been in the country this month past.

The earth has brought forth plentifully ; but provisions are still scarce in Boston. People chuse to keep their stock rather than part with it for paper money. The regulation scheme that I mention'd before has been blundered through in some shape or other from that time till this ; but if we may judge from different countenances it will fall to the ground before many months.

The Convention that have lately met for the purpose of framing a new Constitution are well chosen ; but the spirit of licentiousness now reigning, I am afraid will prevent the reception of any form of government whatever. There is no centre of attraction in the political system. The people, highly pleased with the notion of doing as they please, run out into the most wild eccentric motions, with here and there a comet blazing among them. All things look like chaos. The whole direction of affairs in this populous town seems to have fallen into the hands of the Devil, blind zealots, and ignorant committee-men. The old spirit between the British sailors in our service and the Frenchmen is revived ; and the town almost every night is disturbed with violent commotions. Many persons have been horribly mangled and bruised, and several lately killed. There is a great want of spirit some where. For my part I had rather live under such a monarch as the King of France than pay such a price for liberty. However, I still live in hopes that this ferment will not last forever, but like new sider we shall finally work ourselves clear.

As to this Penobscot affair I can tell you nothing certain

about it; neither do I believe any other person can, except that our fleet was destroyed and our army routed.

General Lovell and others are now under examination. What will arise from ignorant militia-men being examined by an ignorant court 't is impossible to tell.

Indeed it is all hearsay that our people have not succeeded there, no account from any authority having been published. Nobody can give any. Cap^t Saltonstall refused for some time to give any account before white wigs. He said he was to be tried by other authority. Nothing is more natural than for an old soldier to despise men in civil life who have never smelled powder and whom he looks upon as cowards. But to be brought to answer for his conduct in the field before such men is intollerable!

The indelicacy with which Col. Revere was treated by the Council in the manner of his arrest would have disgraced a sergeant in the army of General Washington.

I attended the funeral of poor Loring a fortnight ago, who died of a fever after twenty days sickness.

I am, Sir, your friend and most humble serv^t.

I. KEITH.

Hon. M. G. HEATH.

PAUL REVERE* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Boston, October 24, 1779.

SIR,—A history of our unfortunate expedition to Penobscot may not be disagreeable to you. I should have

* Paul Revere, of French descent, was born in Boston Jan. 1, 1735, and died there May 10, 1818. He zealously espoused the American side in the controversy with the mother country, acquired great influence with the Boston mechanics, and was much trusted by the popular leaders. After the failure of the Penobscot Expedition, charges were filed against him "for disobedience of orders during said expedition and for unsoldierlike behavior tending to cowardice and disobedience of his superior officer." After repeated investigations which failed to produce a definite decision, a Court Martial was, at Revere's request, finally ordered in February, 1782, — more than two years after the event. He was tried on two charges, first, for refusing to deliver a boat to the order of General Wadsworth, and, second, "for his leaving Penobscot River without orders from his commanding officer."

given it to you before this; but the difficulties I have met with has prevented me. The provision that was made for it by the State; your late worthy secretary I know communicated to you. The first Resolve of Court for ordinance and stores, (altho' Gen^l Lovel was one of the Committe) was 2-18 p^{rs}, 3-9 p^{rs}, one 5¹/₂ inch howitz, four brass field-pieces 4 p^{rs}, and one hundred rounds for each piece. After I was appointed to command the artill^y I apply^d for 6-18 p^{rs} with four hun^d rounds for each gun, two 9 p^{rs}, 300 rounds for each, two howitzs 5¹/₂ inch, one hun^d rounds each; four field pieces, (two heavy French fours and two of our light ones) which was granted. I should have applied for some mortars, but I knew the State was not possessed of any; indeed what they had granted appeared so large that they were obliged to rob the castle of 85 barrells of powder. And by the best accounts the enemy had not begun any fort.

We sailed from Nantasket July 19th. Arrived at Townsend 21st, where we found the ship Hampden, next day we were joyned by ship Charming Sally, briggs Pallas and Active, and sloop Providence, which made up the fleet. Warren 32 guns, 18 and 12 p^{rs}; Hampden 20, 9 and 6 p^{rs}; Putnam 20, 9 p^{rs}; Charming Salley 20, 9 and 6 p^{rs}; Vengeance 20, 6 p^r; Black Prince 20, 6 p^{rs}; Monmouth 20, 6 p^{rs}; Hector 18, 6 p^s; Hunter 18, 4 p^{rs}; Sky Rocket 16, 4 p^{rs}; six briggs, one sloop, and 18 transports. The 22^d in the afternoon, the General reviewed his troops. By the returns he had 872 rank and file, (here I found a 12 p^r

The Court found that the first charge was proved, but owing to extenuating circumstances acquitted him. On the second charge the Court acquitted him on the ground that the whole army was in great confusion, and so scattered and dispersed that no regular orders were or could be given." (See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. pp. 224, 225; Goss's Life of Paul Revere, vol. ii. pp. 317-376. See also Proceedings of the Weymouth Historical Society, vol. i., and the remarks by the President of this Society in 2 Proceedings, vol. xii. pp. 200-202.) Both before and after the war Revere was actively engaged in mechanical and business pursuits, being known as a goldsmith, an engraver on type-metal and copper, a founder of bells and cannon, and a manufacturer of sheet copper. In these various capacities he showed much energy and business ability, his estate being appraised after his death at upward of \$20,000. — Ebs.

on a field carriage which procured and about 84 rounds for it. This was all the field carriage I had for any thing heavier than a 4 p^r.) In the evening he called a council of warr; as it was an epitome of the whole campaign, I shall be a little particular. They met about 8 o'clock, the Gen^l and Commo^{dr}, field officers of the army, and captains of the armed vessels. There was nothing proposed, and of consequence nothing done. It was more like a meeting in the Coffee House, than a council of war. There was no President appointed, nor any minutes taken; after disputing about nothing two hours it was broke up. We sailed for Penobscot the 24th, and came to anchor off Magabigwaduce the 25th, about 5 o'clock, P. M. When we got near we could see that the enemy had a fort near the centre of the peninsula, and four ships lay across the mouth of the harbour, a fort on the island opposite, and two redoubts near the water, as you will see by the plan.* Several of our ships stand in towards the enemy and fire there broad sides at about a mile distance. The General orders 350 of the militia to land under Brig^r Wadsworth, as soon as they got near the shore, which was covered with a thick wood, the enemy fire upon them out of the wood, they are order^d to return, we loose one Indian. The 26th a council on board the Commodore, it is agreed to attack the island, the marines to attack, the militia to cover them, which was effected that after noon; the enemy on our approach spiked up their cannon and pushed off, we threw up a barbet battery for two 18 p^{rs} and a 12, which obliged the enemy to remove their ships. The 27th another council on board the Com^{dr}, when it is agreed to land on Magabigwaduce next morning, which was done by sun rise, the 28th. The marines and some militia on the right comm^d by Brig^r Wadsworth, militia on the left. I landed with my men without cannon, but with their small

* The plan, of which an exact facsimile is here given, was on a separate sheet, and was evidently drawn by Revere himself. — Eds.

arms, in the centre. We landed on a very rocky beach, and ascended a bank 300 feet high, covered with as thick a wood as ever grew. It was so steep that no man could get up without taking hold of the bushes, and was defended by a picket of 300 men. We lost about 50 men in killed and wounded, the enemy lost about 30 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In my opinion this was the only time in which we might have subdued the enemy had there been a plan laid; for the ships to have attacked the enemy's ships, and we to have marched on to the fort and stormed it; they not knowing our strength, and we being flushed with victory, I have no doubt they would have lain down their arms. (Had we finally have come off victorious, this would have been called, the bravest action since the war commenced.) We followed them to the edge of the wood and threw up some lines in front, and with difficulty got one field piece on shore; that night begun a battery within 350 yards of the enemy. Their fort was a square with four bastions, the rampart about 5 feet high; they had 3 cannon mounted, which they fired in barbet. The 29th and 30th we were imployed in gitting cannon, &c, on shore, cutting roads, &c. The 30th in the afternoon, we opened upon them with two 18 and one 12 p^r and one howitz. The 29th the Com^{dr} offered to attack the ships, but the Gen^l was against it; they could never agree to do it till the 10th of August.

The 31 a deserter from the enemy's ships, an American who belongs to Philadelphia, says they are 950 strong, 650 regular troops and 300 sailors; that they had taken most of their guns out of their ships and landed most of the sailors, and sunk their transports. We observe every morning that they have been at work all night; they have got 6 pieces of cannon mounted, and merlons built on the ramparts, double fraised and abbeteed. Aug^t first, this morning about 3 o'clock a party of marines and militia attack one of the enemy's redouts and carry'd it, but we

lost more men, kill^d, wounded, and prisoners, than the place was worth ; for when day light appeared they were obliged to leave it with all the cannon. We lost about 30. Major Sawyer and Lieu^t Dennis of the Vengeance were mortally wounded, and died the next day. Nothing very material hapned till the sixth when the Gen^l receiv^d an answer from the Comm^{dr} to a requisition, the day before, that the ships might destroy the enemy ships. The Commo^r^s answer was that he had call^d a council of war of the ship cap^{ts}, and they agreed that if he would storm the enemy's works they would attack the ships. The Gen^l call^d a council of land officers ; they unanimously agreed they could not, they had not men sufficient ; they chose a committee to wait on the Commo^d^r to confer what next was to be done. He proposed another council of land and sea officers. They mett the 7th ; after four hours consultation they agreed upon nothing. The Gen^l said he could not subdue the enemy without a reinforcement of men and stores. The field officers of the militia said their men would not face the enemy in the open ground, and that they had not men enough to keep the ground they then occupied and take another in the rear of the enemy. Six cap^{ts} of the armed vessels said, their men were so uneasey and deserted so fast that if we staid 3 days longer they should not have men enough left to work their vessels, that they had been there 8 days longer than they expected, their was danger of a reinforcement to the enemy ; and should a superiour fleet to theirs arrive we should loose the whole fleet. After all, the question was asked wether we should raise the siege ; there was 8 for it and 13 against it ; they broke up without agreeing to any thing. The 10, there was another council when it was agreed that the ships should attack, and the General should march 300 men in the rear of the enemy to prevent their sailors from gitting to their battery. He agreed to march 600 ; (the day before

he gave the Commodore a return of 1,000 efective rank and file besides the artill^y and officers.) Next day preparations were made (but for fear his men would not stand, the attack was put of till the 12th); that afternoon he took out his men to see how they would behave; he marched about 200 in sight of the enemy, they came out and fired on them, he not seeing the enemy made a signal for them to retreat, they all took to their heels and ran in to the woods and never fired a gun. That night, about 10 o'clock, he called another council, and informed them he had been imposed upon in the returns, and that he had not more than 650 men. It was then determined they could not do what they had agreed to at the last council. The 12, in the afternoon, there was another council, but while they were debating an alarm happned which put an end to it. They mett next morning; after debating two hours it was again put to vote wether we should raise the siege; there was 10 for and 13 against. In the afternoon he had all his men under arms and marched a part of them to the S. E. of the peninsula, the enemy did not come out, but fired grape shot. The ships got under way to go in, when a reinforcement to the enemy appeared; it being near night we retired to the woods, and retreated on board the transports before day light, and brought off every thing. Next morning when the tide of flood made we were ordered up the river, the ships drew in a line to wait the enemy, the transports came to an anchor opposite were Fort Pownal stood, their being no wind and tide against them. About one o'clock the wind began to blow from the south, all our armed vessels got under way and stood up the river, when we found that the transports got under sail, but the ships soon catched them, passed, and left them in the rear; they ran on shore and sett them on fire, the men took in to the woods. The Gen^l got on board the Hazard and went up the river; next day, 15th, the armed vëssels went up the river as far as they could

git, and on the 16 burnt all their vessels. There was no orders where to retreat to, nor no place of rendezvous appointed; Brigadier Wadsworth he put off for Camden down the river, the 15th, with a very few men; most of the army struck thro the woods for Kenebeck, very few having more than one day's provision. I went up the river on the 15th and sett off Kenebeck the 16. The Gen^l went up to the upper Indian Town with the Indians. There was nothing saved but what each man brought off on his back.

There has since been a Committee of Council and House appointed to enquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition; they have saved the General and thrown all the blame on the Commodore. I believe if none of the committee had belonged to Council or House the blame would have been thrown on the Council, for Col. Brewer, who lived at Penobscot, and was the last that left it, before we saild advised the Council to send at least 3,000 men, and they were advised to apply for continental troops. But the most they ordered was 1,600, and there never was 900, and one third of them were boys and old men.

You have no doubt heard, that I was arrested for supposed bad conduct while on the expedition. I dont think ever one person suffer'd so much abuse as I have with so little reason. You remember the difficulties I was thrown into when the reg^t was reduced. Several of the officers, because I would not resign as they did, have done every thing in their power in an underhanded way to hurt my reputation. Among these is Cap^t Todd, whom Gen^l Lovel carried one of his brigade majors, & Lieut Marston went his secratary; I have reason to think they wrote up things to my disadvantage, which happned to arrive just before the news of our defeat, and as censure and ill fortune go together every thing was said against me that malice could invent. There was one Carnes, who was officer of marines, was perswaded to enter a complaint to

Council against me, and they arrested me. After I got home, I waited on Council ; I gave them an account of the expedition. They ordered me to take the command of the Castle again (for during my absence, the command was given to Col. Crafts). But the plan was too deep laid for me to stay there long. General Hancock was appointed one of a committee to fortify the Castle, about the time I was order'd to Penobscot. He went to the Castle the next week after I was gone. He found fault with every thing there, Col. Burbeck urged him on, when he went to Boston he told in all companys that none but Col. Revere would have left the Castle in such a situation. He said I had left 42 p^d rammers and sponges for 32 p^d cannon, that the magazine was over shoes in powder, that the wheel barrows and hand barrows, and the cabbins were burnt with my knowledge, and I never punished a man for it. That I took of the 42 p^{ds} from the platforms and put on 32 p^{ds} without orders ; in short every thing that could be said to my disadvantage was said, when the very reverse was true. At the time I came home a number of the inhabitants of Boston had begun to work at the Castle. Ned Green was employed by the Committee as a sort of secratary, and he to git me from the Castle propagated that the men would not go to work there, if I staid, so he perswaded this Carnes to enter a complaint against me (this Carnes said upon oath). The Council arrested me on Monday, and ordered me to my house in Boston, and on Wednesday took the arrest off and orderd me to attend the Committee of Enquirey. (They gave the command to Cap^t Cushing for the time being, since which Gen^l Hancock is appointed Captain of the Castle, and Col. Burbeck Cap^t Lieu^t of the Castle, &c.) I have since passed the examination of the Committee, and altho there was the greatest partiality shewn, and M^r Dana, one of the Committee, who treated me as tho' I had been a mal-efactor, and he State's Attorney ; they even admitted

Carnes, who was my accuser, to be an evidence against me. Yet Brig^r Gen^l Danilson, who was one of the committee, has told in many companys, he told me the same, that there was not the shaddow of a crime appeared against me, and even M^r Dana said in Councils, that Carnes had not proved any of his charges; yet the Committee in their report have not mentioned me. I have petitioned the Council twice, and the House once for a court martial, but cannot obtain one, but am obliged to wait till the 11 of next month for the House to meet again, before anything can be done. Before that time several of my best evidences will be gone to sea. I was so conscious of my doing every thing in my power on the expedition, that I never had one uneasy thought till after I got home. All my officers have said every thing in my favor that I could wish, and General Lovel the same, yet I am left in a worse situation than if I had always been a friend to goverment. I fear I have been too teedious.

We have nothing new here; we have great expectations from your army. That you may have a *successfull* campaign is the sincere wish of

Your humble servant.

Major General HEATH.

PAUL REVERE.

JOHN AVERY, JR.,* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

*Hon'ble Major General Heath, at Camp Highlands. North River.
State of N. York.*

Boston, November 6th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Your kind favour of the 22^d Oct^r ult^o I received a few days ago, and which, be assured, gave me

* John Avery, Jr., was born in Boston Sept. 13, 1739, fitted for college at the Public Latin School, and graduated at Harvard in 1759. From the adoption of the State Constitution down to his death, June 7, 1806, he was Secretary of the Commonwealth. "In all the political changes which have taken place in Massachusetts since the adoption of the present constitution in 1780, such has been the sense of all parties of the rectitude and ability with which Mr. Avery has discharged all the duties of Secretary of State that, if our memory serves us, in all that period he has been annually unanimously elected to that office." See *Columbian Centinel*, June 11, 1806. — EDS.

much pleasure. I am very happy to find that the reinlistments go on so briskly and that the encouragement offered by the General Assembly of this State meets with the approbation of both officers and privates in our army; I hope the whole will reinlist, for, I fancy, it will discourage our inveterate enemies more than any thing that has happened during this war, as they have built great hopes, that our army would be dissolved soon, and that we should be unable to raise another, but, thro' favour, I hope they will be dissappointed in this, as they have, thro' the smiles of a kind Providence, been defeated in all their other attempts. When I look back, and reflect upon the struggle we have had against one of the most formidable nations in the world and the many difficulties that we had to encounter with, the many enemies both external and internal that we have had to fight against, and considering the weak and feeble situation this infant nation have been in, — it's astonishing! I believe that posterity will think it a fable. The Hon'ble Board yesterday rec^d a letter from Col^o Brooks, who informed them that the sum of money forwarded by the committee was exhausted in the rapid reinlistments, which gave them much pleasure, and in a few days more they will send cash sufficient, I believe so early as the beggining of next week, in order that our brave soldiers may not be backward in this respect; and I have the pleasure to inform you that large quantity of stores have been lately forwarded to camp, and such articles as are much wanted to make them comfortable, and as soon as the Court comes together, which will be next week, they will order a large quantity of articles collected by the several towns in this State, which are now ready, to be forwarded. Our General Assembly have manifested the greatest disposition to make our army as comfortable as possible, which I am really glad to find, as both officers and soldiers merriits every tender regard.

I can't help flattering myself, from the operations of our great and generous allies, the French and Spaniards, that Great Brittain will 'eer long wish to make peace with them and America, for as you justly observe that if they should pursue the war much longer, it will finish in their ruin. I hope by this time that the Count is arrived; however, if he should do nothing more than captivate M^r Prevost and his mirmidons at the southward; he will do us essential service and greatly frustrate ministerial measures. I dare say that the large reinforcement which sailed from N. York some little time ago and returned, were to make a lodgment in South Carolina, which would have been of fatal consequence to the United States and would have had a tendency to have prolonged the war; perhaps at a great distance. In short we are under the greatest obligation to our worthy generous allies. I can't help thinking some great event will take place in Europe; may it be to the humbling of our more than savage enemies,—is my sincere prayer. I am greatly obliged to you for the intelligence you gave me of the enemy's evacuating Verplank and Stoney Points—I hope before January next, to hear of their evacuating N. York. We may conclude by the desertions being so frequent from the British army, that they are very uneasy; if so, Good Lord increase it. I have nothing very material to inform you of, as we have had no very late arrivals. Please to present my best regards to Col^o Sheppard, Majors Lyman and Cartwright, &c., &c. Dear Gen^l, by favouring me with a few lines now and then, shall be greatly acknowledged. Your compliments I presented to the Board, as desired.

I am, Sir, with great esteem,

Your Honor's most obedient and very hum^l serv^t.

JNO. AVERY, JU^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

CAMP, PEEKS KILL, NOV' 17th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was honored with yours of yesterday the last evening; have ordered the two Connecticut brigades to move over the river with all possible expedition and encamp agreeable to your orders.

I shall adopt a rule for furloughing the officers conformable to your Excellency's instructions. If I should get rid of my present disorder in a short time I shall ask your Excellency's permission to make a journey to Boston some time between this and the opening of the next campaign; a large, young family and the distracted times makes such a journey absolutely necessary. The time when and for how long I submit to your Excellency. But if my indisposition continues, or should fix on my lungs, as at present there are strong symptoms, I shall be under the painful necessity of requesting leave to retire for a while or intirely from the service, as attempting to discharge the duties of my office and at the same time to struggle with the disorder will probably very soon totally incapacitate me for rendering either my country or family any future service.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, 5th Dec^r, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I was honored with your favors of the 30th ultimo and 4th instant, and am very happy you had

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 131, 132. — Eds.

so fine a day to move. I am detained by the extream cold to day, but shall embrace the first good day to leave this. I have resigned the command to Gen^l Patterson; and have taken the liberty to suggest a few hints to him for your information respecting these posts. The state of my health and the severe season will deprive me of the honor of waiting on you, which I hope you will excuse. Accept my thanks for your good wishes for the recovery of my health, and I sincerely wish you the same blessing. A servant of mine is without shoes, which will loose me the use of him for the winter, if he does not get injured with the frost. I cannot get any to purchase, and the order of the Commander in Chief or that of the officer commanding the department is necessary to get a pair from the hide masters. I therefore beg for one on any of them at these posts. I should not give you this trouble, but that I cannot obtain a pair by any other means to prevent the servant's suffering. If you inclose it by the bearer it will oblige,

Dear Sir, your hble. serv^t.

ALEX. McDougall.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN PATERSON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, ROBINSON'S FARM, Dec^r 5th, 1779.

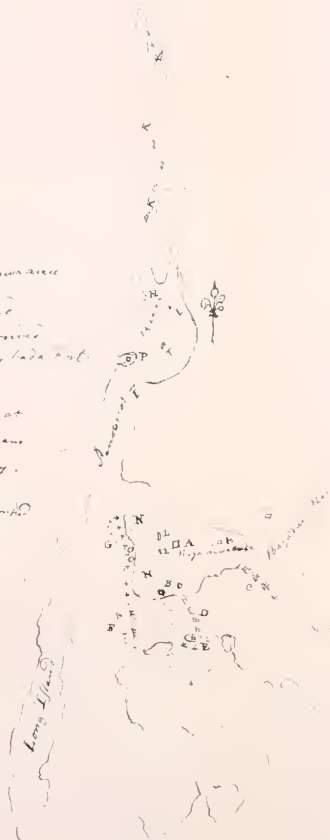
DEAR SIR, — I arrived here yesterday afternoon; shall take quarters at this place for the present.

When Major General McDougall leaves the Point, you will take the command of the garrison untill further orders.

* John Paterson was born in Farmington, Conn., in 1743 or 1744, graduated at Yale College in 1762, and died at Whitney's Point, N. Y., July 19, 1808. After graduating he taught and studied law in Farmington. In 1774 he removed to Lenox, Mass., where he was elected to each of the three Provincial Congresses. On the breaking out of the war he entered the army, and served with great credit to its close, gradually rising to the rank of major-general. After the peace he resumed the practice of the law, and in 1791 he removed to the State of New York, where he became a Judge and a member of Congress. See Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, second series, pp. 766-768; *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 669. — Eds.

A Two Enemy ma
B Bedouins
C Enemy Ships
D Enemy Ships
E Pearl's Island
F American Ship
G American Frigate
H transports to
I Enemy Ships
K American Ship
L American Frigate
N Wood were the
O ~~W~~ were they
P Port Journal

- A Enemy main Fort on the N. side
- B Battery
- C Enemy ships after they landed
- D Enemy ships when they arrived
- E The island where the Enemy landed
- F American ships
- G Two small boats
- H Two small boats in the Bay at
- I Enemy ships chasing the Americans
- K American ships running away
- L American batteries
- N Wood where the Americans encamped
- O Place where they landed
- P Fort General



Please to call upon the several departments to make me an immediate return, viz^t, on the Dy. Adj^t Gen^l for a return of the strength of the garrison, of the guards ordinary and extraordinary now mounted, with the places where, and whether the garrison has alarm posts assigned.

On the Dy. Q. M. Gen^l for a state of the barracks, in order, such as are repairing or building, and such as are purposed to be built, and the quantity of fuel on hand.

On the keeper of the magazine of provisions, for the quantity on hand, and in particular flour and bread, with the prospect he may have of a speed supply of the latter. I do not want any time spent to have the differant returns accurate or the precise quantity, but in such manner as will enable me to form a general opinion, and to adopt such measures as may be necessary without loss of time.

Please to inform me of the situation of the beacons and alarm guns on Butter Hill, and on the hill in little Britain called Mullender's Hill, and whether there are proper guards kept at them.

The season is so far advanced, Sir, that I must request your every exertion, to have a supply of fuel and provisions got to the point before the river is frozen and that the barracks and hutts be compleated with all possible expedition.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

Brigadier Gen^l PATTERSON. '

W. HEATH.

UDNY HAY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, 9th Dec^r, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yours respecting the preservation of the boats I have seen and can assure you the orders respecting them previous to your letter were not only frequent but peremptory; since then we have repeated

Please to call upon the several departments to make me an immediate return, viz^t, on the Dy. Adj^t Gen^l for a return of the strength of the garrison, of the guards ordinary and extraordinary now mounted, with the places where, and whether the garrison has alarm posts assigned.

On the Dy. Q. M. Gen^l for a state of the barracks, in order, such as are repairing or building, and such as are purposed to be built, and the quantity of fuel on hand.

On the keeper of the magazine of provisions, for the quantity on hand, and in particular flour and bread, with the prospect he may have of a speed supply of the latter. I do not want any time spent to have the differant returns accurate or the precise quantity, but in such manner as will enable me to form a general opinion, and to adopt such measures as may be necessary without loss of time.

Please to inform me of the situation of the beacons and alarm guns on Butter Hill, and on the hill in little Britain called Mullender's Hill, and whether there are proper guards kept at them.

The season is so far advanced, Sir, that I must request your every exertion, to have a supply of fuel and provisions got to the point before the river is frozen and that the barracks and hutts be compleated with all possible expedition.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

Brigadier Gen^l PATTERSON. '

W. HEATH.

UDNY HAY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, 9th Dec^r, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yours respecting the preservation of the boats I have seen and can assure you the orders respecting them previous to your letter were not only frequent but peremptory; since then we have repeated

them. About fifty boats which were bringing up to Wap-pens Creek gott adrift in a gale of wind, and it is some of that number I make no doubt that have been driving about the river. A company of batteauxmen are now after them, and I hope will pick them up. I am excessively affraid that even when the mills may be enabled to grind flour for the army, we shall have much difficulty in removing it for want of casks; permitt me to request that a very peremptory order may be given for saving as many of them as possible. I have wrote to West Point on that subject some days agoe and proposed if no other effectual method can be falln on that a dollar per piece be offered for every barrell brought in good order and delivered to the Q^r Master; they cost at least four times that price.

Our distress with respect to forage, and consequently with respect to the transportation of provisions, increases fast. We have not more than three tons of hay in the magazine here; the forage master informs none can be procured to the eastward till that already rec^d is paid for, indeed, I am well convinced that is the case. There is still some on the confines of the river, a considerable part of which (being the only resource we have left) I have ordered brought by land; boats are employed in bringing the remainder thereof to the fort by water.

There is hay purchased about Shaaron, but they will not lett an ounce of it go till they are first paid, and the commissary of forage has not a shilling of money. I can see but one mode left to save the department from ruin, (and that is far from being a certain one). If you approve of it I will go off early tomorrow morning, gett strong recommendations from the Governour to some of the principal people there, whom I will endeavour to persuade to go round with me to the inhabitants and request they will lett their hay go, on condition of being promised as high a price as shall be given for that article on the day of payment (should the price then be higher than now).

This mode, as it will no doubt be [*torn*] as a precedent, is excessively dangerous [*torn*] what else in our present situation can be done? If you think the above proposal proper, please lett me have your answer tonight, as I shall sett off tomorrow before day, a moment's time ought not to be lost. I shall write General Greene very fully on the subject by an express who will sett off tomorrow morning; if you want him to call by your quarters please lett me know. Believe me to be, with every sentiment of respect,

Dear General, your most obed^t se.

UDNY HAY.

General HEATH.

UDNY HAY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, 17 Decr, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,—General McDougal says the guard was removed from the beacon on the other side the river with the approbation of the Commander in Chief.

Previous to the receipt of your letter I had waited on Mr Fitch and offered my assistance in any way he thought could be conducive towards supplying the troops with flour. I saw him this morning early again, and have at his desire sent out men, on whose industry and fidelity I can depend, to the purchasing commissaries from whom he expects a supply, with general recommendations to the Justices of the County for their aid in procuring waggons for the transportation of whatever flour is found ready, and have sent particular letters to some of them on whom I have the most dependance, in short (uncommon bad weather excepted) I have no doubt of making the transportation with expedition, if the flour can only be found. I have likewise been very particular in my instructions to those entrusted with the management of the transportation; they are by no means to depend on water carriage higher up than Poughkeepsie, nor even there

without the prospect is very fair. If the river is open at the landing when they arrive, immediate and expeditious intelligence shall be sent to the fort, that boats may be ordered up to receive it; if not we must transport it over the mountains.

I am much honored by your approbation of my conduct, and shall endeavour by my future behaviour to merit a continuation thereof.

I am with every sentiment of respect, dear General,
Your most obed^t and very humble se^t.

UDNY HAY.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Dec^r 17th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — In the late scarcity of flour some of the troops were ten days without bread, which was such a tryal even to the veterans that one brigade was on the point of a mutiny. The corps of New York levies under the command of Col^o Pawling posted at Stony Point did not continue through it, — your Excellency having promised them when they had compleated the work at Stony Point that they should be discharged. It operated powerfully on them and no men ever worked better, but after being a number of days without bread a spirit of desertion took place, which by the day before yesterday had reduced their numbers near two thirds. As their time of service expires the first of January, and Col^o Gouvion having given his opinion that from their reduced numbers and circumstances no advantage to the public could be expected from their remaining longer at the post, and at the earnest request of the officers I have ordered them to march to Poughkeepsie, to prevent the whole of the soldiers from deserting. I have wrote Governor Clinton and advised that after those who have

remained are mustered and returned their arms, &c, they should be discharged; have represented the great desertion which had taken place and the occasion of it, and at the same time its banefull tendency on the discipline of the army. I hope the steps which I have taken will meet your approbation; others shall be taken if your Excellency should think them necessary.

Our supply of flour is still only from day to day, and the present cold weather threatens an early obstruction of the water transportation. Every quarter master and commissary is pressed to exert himself and every barrel of flour that can be found is forwarding, but when ample supplies will be obtained or whether at all is not in my power to determine.

No new intelligence has been received from below since that forwarded by Major Gen^l Howe by the last express.

General Glover informs me that the troops grow uneasy for their pay, and the commanding officers of reg^{ts} represent the want of money to pay the continental bounty to the reinlisted men.

Enclosed is the request of two officers for leave to resign their commissions in the army; they are desirous to retire as soon as it may be convenient to your Excellency to grant their requests.

Agreeable to your Excellency's instructions I have made enquiry respecting the beacons, and have wrote Governor Clinton on the subject. I find that the guard at the one on Butter Hill (which must give the signal to the others) has been discontinued for some time, and said to be by your orders or consent. I beg to be informed whether your Excellency considers it unnecessary to have guards at the beacons during the winter, or advisable that they should be again mounted and continued.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Dec^r 21st, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 13th and 17th instant, and altho your Excellency did not think your self authorised to give direction in the instances in which I requested it, I beg you will be pleased to accept my thanks for so fully expressing your sentiments on the case of Majors Hull and Cogswell. I am writing the General Assembly of Massachusetts on the subject. No endeavours of mine shall be wanting to request and press the necessity of preserving inviolate the late arrangment of their Line of the Army, and that the least inovation be not made upon it.

I had ordered a carefull return of the arms and accoutrements of the soldiers as their time of service expires.

The late severe weather which has almost stoped the water transporta. has alarmed our apprehensions respecting a supply of flour. At this time we have scarcely one day's bread on hand; I am sorry to hear that the army with your Excellency are experianceing the same scantiness.

Enclosed are the requests of two officers for leave to resign their commissions in the army; they are desirous to retire as soon as it may be convenient to your Excellency to grant their requests.

The troops here, I am informed, suffer much for want of their pay, which is several months in arrears; in particular the officers who are going home on furlough whose expences on the road will be considerable. Many of these, I am told, are obliged to borrow money, and there are but few among them that have it to lend. The commanding officers of regiments are also urging the necessity of money to pay the continental bounty to the

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 147, 148. — Eds.

reinlisted men, as many soldiers will not enlist unless they can receive their whole bounty.

Major Bauman of the artillery has wrote me a letter, which I take the liberty to enclose, not thinking myself authorized to grant his request in the first instance without instructions for that purpose.

A Cap^t North who lately went down the river with a flagg to New York returned yesterday. He went as low as nearly opposite the city, and was put on board the *Romilus* man of war while his vessel was hauled into the wharf and the families he carried down landed. Cap^t North is a very sensible and judicious man, and one in whom Governor Clinton places great confidence. He informs me that about 70 sail of transports lie in the stream in the North River and near the *Romilus*, that about the same number are in the East River, the whole compleatly ready for the sea; that from 8 to 10,000 of their best troops are to embarke; that this had been once done about a fortnight since and disembarked again, it was said, because the coast was not clear; last Wednesday or Thursday the boats were plying very briskly, altho the weather was stormy, carrying baggage, &c, on board the transports, and it was said the troops would embarke by the 20th. Cap^t North found by some conversation on board the *Romilus*, that Gen^l Sir Henry Clinton and another general officer were to go in that ship, but that orders soon after came on board for a division of the cabbin stores, &c, as the other General was to go in another ship; a disposition of the stores was made accordingly. It was said the destination of the troops was to the southward, but some were of opinion it was to the West Indies. Cap^t North thinks it probable their destination is various, and that they are destined to the southward, the West Indies, and a part of the fleet to Europe, as the invalids are to embarke. This he learnt by an officer coming on board and telling two midshipmen, that

they were to repair immediately to Long Island, and so that the invalids were properly embarked on board the transports; on this the officer had a hint, and no more was said in the hearing of Cap^t North, who was hurried away before he could compleat his business, and that the whole attention seemed turned to the embarkation.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Dec^r. 27th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this evening honored with your two favors of the 21st instant. Upon enquiry some time since respecting the beacons, I found that the guard at the one on Butter Hill, and which must give the signal to the others, had been taken off before your departure, and General McDougall informed me it was done with your Excellency's approbation. This, and the extreame difficulty of keeping guards on the heighths where the beacons are erected during the severe season, led me to take off the guards from the others (which could not be of service while there was none on Butter Hill) untill the season advanced when the enemy might be expected to be in motion. This I mentiond to Governor Clinton, and this evening received a letter from him in which he observes, "I perfectly agree with you in sentiment with respect to the beacons, as it is not probable any movement of the enemy towards the Highlands in the course of the winter will be so sudden, but timely notice may be given to assemble the militia. In the spring we must resume our

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 148-150. — Eds.

former conduct on this subject, with such further regulations as may be judged necessary."

A report is just brought here that the enemy's fleet with a large detachment of their army sailed from New York on Wednesday last, the day after your Excellency's letter is dated, but untill I have the most authentick intelligence of it, or orders to the contrary, shall strictly pursue the injunctions of your letter ; am writing to Governor Clinton and in the morning shall order guards to the beacons, and take other necessary measures.

Governor Clinton in his letter to me which came to hand this day expresses himself as follows: "I am exceedingly alarmed at the information I continue to receive respecting the scarcity of provisions for the army. I hoped, that the late soft weather had enabled the commissaries to have furnished competent supplies for your division, which would have lasted some time. But as they have not and the severe frost will prevent many mills from grinding, I dread the consequences ; besides from the failure of the crops last year I fear, without the greatest oeconomy, we will be reduced to great difficulties to bring the year about." The first difficulty I have endeavoured to guard against (want of water or the frost) some days since, and by a circular letter directed the purchassing commissarys immediately to remove the wheat from those mills where there was no prospect of its being ground to those that were certain. Governor Clinton having offered me every aid in his power both at home and at the approaching session of the Legislature, I have requested him if any measures can be devised to ensure the increase of a supply of flour without injury to the inhabitants that they may be adopted.

The issuing commissaries are all determined to quit the service on the first day of January, unless their pay is increased before that time. I have prevailed on some of them to continue untill I can hear from your Excellency.

In case of a general resignation what mode shall I adopt?

The staff officers in the Line are applying for their warrants, shall a list of their names be sent on, or how are they to obtain them?

Col^o Putnam having wrote me some days since the condition of the light infantry on account of clothing, I have made enquiry of such officers as I have seen. These informed me that they had aimed to do equal justice to the light infantry with the other men of their regiments in every respect. I some days since issued an order that in all distribution of money or clothing equal attention should be paid to the light infantry. I will make further enquiry, but am persuaded no clothing is in the hands of the regimental clothiers, as I am constantly harrassed with complaints that the men are naked and numbers unfit for du[ty] and confined to their hutts. In the distribution of the clothing, I am informed that those whose time of service expires before March were not allowed to receive any. I am this day informed that there are many men whose time of service is near expiring who are so naked that they cannot get home.

The late snow and severe weather have put a total stop to the works at King's Ferry untill it grows more moderate. Col^o Gouvion informs me that no work can be done except on the bomb proofs & block houses; these are prosecuting. The whole would have been compleated before this time had not the season prevented.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN PATERSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Dec^r 28th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — The last evening I had the honor to receive a letter from his Excellency General Washington. He expresses a jealousy at the enemy's keeping their force collected at New York, and that he cannot yet develop their designs. He has directed me to pay particular attention to the signals for calling in the militia in case of need, that the regular troops may be at liberty to act at this post, or march to support him should circumstances require it. There is a report that a large embarkation of troops sailed from New York on Wednesday last, but as there is no authentick accounts of it, and his Excellency's orders peremptory, you will please to pay immediate attention to the beacon on Butter Hill, it will be very difficult, but a small guard must be posted there, and every thing in readiness to give the signal at that place, untill I hear further from his Excellency. I forward you some resolutions of the General Assembly for furnishing you with a sute of cloths and making good your pay.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gen^l PATTERSON.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

- Adams, *Hon.* John, letters from, to William Heath, 3, 9, 14. Letter to, from William Heath, 11. Urges the importance of a speedy declaration of independence, 11. On the character of the American army, 14. On promotions, 15. Mentioned, 211. Interest taken by him, in the exchange of Col. Campbell, 234.
- Adams, John, *Assist. Dep. Paymaster-General*, 235, 236.
- Adams, *Hon.* Samuel, letters from, to William Heath, 6, 140. Letters to, from William Heath, 143, 147, 154.
- Adams, *Lt.-Col.* Winborn, 157.
- Adams, —, *Charlestown*, 174.
- Agnew, *Gen.* James, 64, 65.
- Agnew, *Major* William, letter from, to William Heath, 224. Mentioned, 222.
- Albany, N. Y., 100, 101, 102, 111, 126, 131, 147, 149, 157.
- Alden, *Col.* Ichabod, 69, 112, 119, 138, 271.
- Allen, *Col.* Ethan, 220.
- Allen, *Capt.* Robert, 271.
- Allen, *Capt.* —, 157.
- Amphitrite, *ship*, arrival of the, 80, 86.
- Anstruther, *Col.* John, 213, 220.
- Antill, John, 40.
- Arms, payment for loss of, 57, 61.
- Army, needs of the American, 11. Promotions in the, 12, 15. Need of a permanent army, 14, 221.
- Arnold, *Gen.* Benedict, 6, 37, 139, 146, 153, 163.
- Artillery, lack of men for the, 46.
- Ashley, *Col.* John, *Jr.*, 139.
- Asia, *ship of line*, 37, 38.
- Assumption of government by the Colonies, 10.
- Avery, John, *Jr.*, notice of, 326 n. Letter from, to William Heath, 326. Mentioned, 73.

B.

- Bailey, *Col.* John, 70, 72, 126, 132, 148, 150.
- Baldwin, *Capt.* —, 68.

- Balme, M. Mottin de la, 81, 82.
- Barber, *Major* Francis, 93, 184.
- Barrett, Samuel, notice of, 259 n. Letter from, to William Heath, 259.
- Bauman, *Major* Sebastian, 337.
- Beacons to be erected in anticipation of an attack on Boston, 273, 276. On the Hudson, 331, 335, 338, 341.
- Beatty, *Col.* John, letter from, to Joshua Mersereau, 300.
- Bedford, *Mass.*, burning of, 268, 272, 273.
- Bell, *Capt.* —, 157.
- Bell, *Gen.* —, 31.
- Bennington, *Vt.*, 123, 126, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 150, 152.
- Bergen County, N. Y., to raise a regiment of Loyalists, 27, 31.
- Bigelow, *Col.* Timothy, 70, 112, 119.
- Blackeden, *Major* —, 230.
- Blankets, want of, 113, 114, 135.
- Bliss, *Capt.* —, 280, 281.
- Board of War, letter to, from William Heath, 88.
- Bond, *Col.* William, 36, 42.
- Borda, *Le Chevalier de*, 270.
- Borland, John, 185.
- Boston, siege of, 7. Harbor of, inadequately defended, 70, 84, 87. Fears of an attack by the British on, 199. Transports with provisions for the Convention troops may enter the harbor of, 232, 233. Quarrel between sailors of French fleet and some unknown persons, 267-272. Anticipated movement of the British against, 272, 273, 276. Provisions scarce in, 317. Lawlessness in, *ib.*
- Bounties, need of, to induce enlistments, 12. Large paid, 152.
- Bowdoin, *Hon.* James, letter to, from William Heath, 51.
- Bradford, *Col.* Gamaliel, *Jr.*, 70, 72, 148.
- Bradford, *Capt.* Robert, 184.
- Brewer, *Col.* Samuel, letter from, to William Heath, 116. Letter to, from William Heath, 131. Mentioned, 70, 72, 148, 324.
- Briant, *Capt.* —, 59.
- Bronx River, 65.
- Brookfield, *Mass.*, magazine at, 89, 106, 172, 284.

- Brooks, *Col. John*, 327.
 Brown, *Col. John*, 158, 160.
 Brown, *Capt. Nathan*, 311.
 Brown, *Lieut. Richard*, of the Convention troops, shot by a sentinel, 240, 249, 280, 281.
 Brown, *Col. —*, 246.
 Brown, *Lt.-Col. —*, *Loyalist*, 44, 85.
 Brunswick, *N. J.*, 33, 119, 123.
 Budsworth, *William*, 134.
 Bunker Hill, Convention troops to be quartered on, 169.
 Burbeck, *Col. William*, 325.
 Burditt's Ferry, 16, 19.
 Burgoyne, *Gen. John*, letters from, to William Heath, 186, 197, 222; to Sir William Howe, 204. Letters to, from William Heath, 196, 200, 206, 218. Agreement as to the payment for provisions furnished to the British army, 225. Quarters for, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177. Inexpedient for him to visit the seaport towns, 188, 193. To be detained until further orders from Congress, 211. To go to England, 221. Sets out for Rhode Island, 227. Mentioned, 122, 136, 147, 153, 156, 159, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 188, 192, 193, 194, 195, 199, 202, 203, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 215, 216, 217, 223, 230, 231, 237, 293.
 Burk, *Capt. William*, 311.
 Burns, *Peter*, 134.
 Buscart, *Col. —*, *Loyalist*, 27, 44.
 Butler, *—*, *express messenger*, 189.
 Butter Hill, *N. Y.*, beacon on, 331, 335, 338, 341.
- C.
- Cabot, *brig*, 73.
 Cambridge, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 176, 232, 279, 284, 285.
 Campbell, *Lt.-Col. Archibald*, notice of, 74 n. Letters from, to William Heath, 74, 78, 96, 234; to the Council of Massachusetts, 90. Letter to, from Israel Keith, 78. Mentioned, 203, 220.
 Campbell, *Lieut. William*, 282, 283.
 Cannon, to be lent to Gen. Clinton, 59. To be brought from Portsmouth, 86. To be sent to Springfield, 93, 103. Number arrived at Cambridge, 90. Desired at Albany, 110. To be sent to Litchfield, 125. Captured at Stillwater, 162. Arrival of, at Portsmouth, 189. Captured at Stony Point, 312.
 Cape Ann, arrival of clothing from France at, 235.
 Cape Cod, arrival at, of transports for the Convention troops, 218, 219.
 Cape Cod Harbor, British ships at, 223.
 Carleton, *Gen. Sir Guy*, 85, 123, 187, 195.
 Carnes, *Capt. John*, 310.
 Carnes, *Thomas J.*, 324, 325.
 Cartridge boxes, bad quality of the, 104, 105.
 Cartridges, spoiled by the storm in Rhode Island, 250, 251.
 Cartwright, *Capt. John*, 133.
 Cartwright, *Major Thomas*, 328.
 Castleton, *Vt.*, 122, 126.
 Cathcart, *Capt. John*, 311.
 César, *French ship*, 263.
 Chaffault de Besné, *Louis Charles, Comte de*, 275.
 Champion, *Col. Henry*, 212, 214.
 Champney, *—*, *express messenger*, 80.
 Charlestown, *N. H.* (No. 4), 122, 123, 151, 190.
 Charlottesville, *Va.*, Convention troops to be removed to, 278, 279, 283, 285.
 Chase, *Col. Thomas*, letters to, from William Heath, 169, 175, 186. Mentioned, 115, 217, 236.
 Cheever, *Col. Ezekiel*, notice of, 142 n. Letter to, from William Williams, 143. Mentioned, 95, 106.
 Chester, *Col. John*, 51.
 Church, *Dr. Benjamin*, 117, 118.
 Clark, *Major John, Jr.*, 28, 29.
 Clark, *Jonathan, British Commissary*, 200, 204, 205, 206, 207, 233, 277, 283.
 Clarkson, *Major Mathew*, 139.
 Clinton, *Gov. George*, letter to, from William Heath, 58. Mentioned, 28, 34, 37, 49, 55, 334, 335, 337, 338, 339.
 Clinton, *Sir Henry*, 242, 262, 280, 282, 337.
 Clinton, *Gen. James*, 16, 17, 32, 55.
 Clothing for the army, want of, 100, 101, 102, 109, 110.
 Clouston, *Capt. John*, 128.
 Coburn, *Lt.-Col. —*, 157.
 Cochnawaga Indians, 68.
 Cogswell, *Capt. Amos*, 83.
 Cogswell, *Major Thomas*, 336.
 Colt, *Peter*, letter from, to William Heath, 213. Mentioned, 190.
 Concord, *Mass.*, *Col. Campbell*, a prisoner in, 75, 90, 97.
 Congress sends a committee to Boston to consult about military operations, 4. Resolves of, to be published in General Orders, 27. Orders an inquiry into the evacuation of Ticonderoga, 140, 144. Sends instructions to Gen. Heath about the embarkation of the Convention troops, 194, 195. Resolves of, relative to the settlement for supplies furnished to the Convention troops, 196, 197. Orders the embarkation of the troops to be suspended, 203. Directs Gen. Burgoyne and the troops to be detained until further orders, 211, 216. Orders the removal of the troops, 277, 279, 283.
 Congress, President of, letters to the, from William Heath, 167, 171.
 Connecticut, exertions of, compared with those of New York, 9. Militia from, 45. To fill her regiments by a draft, 83. Threatened by the British, 92, 94,

119. Weakness of some of the regiments, 111. All the troops from, have gone home, 135. Scarcity of forage in, 278. March of the Convention troops through the State, 286, 287, 288. Convention troops, how quartered, 166, 167, 169, 174, 176, 179, 180, 191. Descriptive lists of, required by Congress, 186, 187, 194, 195, 210, 213, 216. Accounts for supplies for, to be settled before embarkation, 196, 197, 200. Mutinous behavior of, 201. To be detained until the further orders of Congress, 203, 211, 219. Accounts of, how to be settled, 205, 206, 207, 208. Agreement for paying for provisions for, 225. To march to Rutland, 228. Provisions for, to be sent to Boston, 231, 242. Arrangements for the receipt of provisions, 252. Payment for supplies to, 236, 237. Quarters for, refused at Hardwick, 238, 239, 240. To be removed to Virginia, 277, 283, 284, 285. Route for their march, 278, 279, 282, 286, 287, 288. A source of trouble and difficulty to Gen. Heath, 291. Sale of articles sent to them prohibited, 293-295.

Conway, *Gen.* Thomas, 81, 82.

Cooke, Nicholas, *Gov. of Rhode Island*, 216, 217.

Cooke, *Capt.* —, 21.

Cooper, Benjamin, *tavern keeper*, 175.

Cooper, —, *express messenger*, 31.

Cornell, *Gen.* Ezekiel, 246, 253.

Coulton, *Capt.* —, 96.

Crafts, *Col.* Thomas, letters from, to William Heath, 252, 256, 264. Mentioned, 84, 113, 161, 276, 325.

Crane, *Col.* John, 72, 80, 112, 119, 125.

Critical condition of the Colonies, 6, 9.

Crocker, *Lieut.* Joseph, 307.

Crompond, *N. Y.*, 37.

Crown Point, 113, 116.

Cushing, *Capt.* Perez, 325.

Cushing, *Hon.* Thomas, 73.

^AD.

Dalrymple, *Capt.* Hugh, 218, 222.

Dana, *Hon.* Francis, notice of, 190 *n.* Letter from, to William Heath, 190. Mentioned, 325, 326.

Danbury, *Conn.*, British attack on, 85. Mentioned, 55, 278, 288.

Danielson, Timothy, notice of, 95 *n.* Letter from, to Jeremiah Powell, 95. Mentioned, 326.

Dartmouth, *Mass.*, 130.

D'Aumours, —, 81, 82.

D'Avaux, *Major* —, 128.

Dawes, *Major* Thomas, 134.

Deane, *Hon.* Silas, 71, 81, 82.

De Borre, *Chev.* Prudhomme, 70, 71, 82.

Dennis, *Lieut.* William, 322.

De Roussi, *Col.* Regnier, 37.

Deserters, 133, 152, 153, 229, 250, 257.

Dickinson, *Gen.* Philemon, 40.

Dike, *Col.* Nicholas, 67.

Discipline in the army, John Adams on, 14.

Dodge, —, 291.

Donop, Carl E. K., *Count*, 54.

Dorchester Heights, works on, 128, 129.

Du Condray, *Gen.* P. C. J. B. T., 99.

Dunstable, *Mass.*, 90.

Durkee, *Col.* John, 307.

Dyer, *Col.* —, 254.

E.

Edmunds, *Capt.* John, 311.

Elizabethtown, *N. J.*, 45.

Enfield, *Conn.*, 279, 282, 285, 287, 288.

Erskine, *Gen.* Sir William, 85.

Estaing, Charles Hector, *Comte d'*, letter to, from William Heath, 268. Letter from, to William Heath, 269. Mentioned, 243, 245, 247, 248, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 275, 281.

Exchange of prisoners, 78, 79, 91, 134.

F.

Falmouth, *Me.*, 63.

Falmouth, *Mass.*, 273.

Faneuil, *Col.* —, 70, 127.

Farrington, *Lt.-Col.* Thomas, 98.

Fellows, *Gen.* John, 25, 137.

Fermor, *Capt.* J., 222.

Fish, *Col.* Nicholas, 63.

Fishkill, 36, 43, 221, 278.

Fitch, —, 333.

Flamand, *ship*, 189.

Fleury, *Capt.* Louis, 82.

Flour for the army, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 339.

Folwell, John, 6.

Fort Ann, 137.

Fort Constitution, 28, 34.

Fort Edward, 126, 137, 138, 139.

Fort George, 138, 158.

Fort Independence, near King's Bridge, *N. Y.*, 38, 57, 64, 315.

Fort Lee, 42.

Fort Montgomery, 28, 35, 44, 120.

Fort Pownal, 323.

Fort Stanwix, 145, 146.

Fort Washington, 53, 64, 65.

Foster, *Ensign* —, 157.

Fotheringham, Patrick, *Capt. of the Fox*, 134.

Fox, *frigate*, 127, 130, 131, 132, 134.

France, light artillery expected from, 114.

Arms received from, 149, 151, 189.

Preparing for war, 153. War declared against England, 275.

Francis, *Col.* Ebenezer, 70, 72, 128, 132, 148, 149.

Franklin, *Dr.* Benjamin, on a committee of Congress to consult about military operations, 4. Mentioned, 74, 81.
 Fraser, *Gen.* Simon, 116, 163.
 Freedom, *brig*, 128.
 Frederick the Great, King of *Prussia*, on the need of a disciplined army, 11, 14.
 French fleet at Rhode Island, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 257, 258. Sails for Boston, 253, 259, 260, 261-264. Quarrel at Boston between the sailors of, and some American sailors, 267-271.
 French officers in Boston, swarm of, 80.
 Frye, Peter Pickman, 98, 99.
 Fuller, *Capt.* —, 25.

G.

Gansevoort, *Gen.* Peter, 145.
 Gates, *Gen.* Horatio, letters to, from William Heath, 154, 289, 293, 297. Letters from, to William Heath, 286, 299. Promotion of, 16. Mentioned, 101, 147, 157, 160, 164, 169, 194, 200, 205, 206, 210, 261, 290, 291, 292, 296, 298, 302.
 Geddes, David, *Paymaster for the Convention troops*, 197, 209, 236, 237.
 Gerrish, *Col.* Jacob, letter to, from William Heath, 283. Mentioned, 201, 279.
 Gerry, *Hon.* Elbridge, 109.
 Gilman, *Col.* David, 124.
 Glover, *Gen.* John, notice of, 118 *n.* Letters to, from William Heath, 118, 160. Letters from, to William Heath, 156, 162, 172. Mentioned, 69, 139, 188, 222, 237, 245, 246, 253, 315, 335.
 Gooch, John, letters from, to William Heath, 238, 240. Mentioned, 206, 220.
 Gouvion, *Col.* Jean Baptiste, 334, 340.
 Governor's Island, Boston harbor, 125.
 Grand Clos, —, 271.
 Gray, *Lt.-Col.* Eben, 307.
 Greaton, *Col.* John, 36, 42, 69, 71, 110, 112, 119, 305.
 Green, Edward, 325.
 Greene, *Gen.* Nathanael, letter from, to William Heath, 313. Letter to, from William Heath, 314. Mentioned, 246, 253, 266, 274, 338.
 Greene, *Gov.* William, letter from, to William Heath, 250. Letter to, from William Heath, 252.

H.

Hackensack, *N. J.*, 27, 31, 42, 43.
 Hacker, *Capt.* Hoysted, 311.
 Hale, *Col.* Enoch, 128.
 Halifax, *N. S.*, 37, 235, 236.
 Hall, Stephen, 178, 183, 184.
 Hallet, *Capt.* Allen, 311.

Hamblin, *Capt.* —, 25.
 Hamilton, *Gen.* James Inglis, 172, 175, 277, 280, 290.
 Hancock, Ebenezer, *Deputy Paymaster General*, 106, 181, 229.
 Hancock, *Hon.* John, letters to, from William Heath, 81, 311. Mentioned, 212, 244, 246, 250, 253, 260, 270, 274, 325.
 Harcourt, *Col.* William, notice of, 198 *n.* Letter to, from Robert Kingston, 198. Mentioned, 207, 208, 209, 210.
 Hardenborg, *Lt.-Col.* Johannis, 33.
 Hardenbrook, —, 19.
 Hardwick, *Mass.*, unwillingness of the inhabitants of, to provide quarters for the Convention troops, 238, 239, 240.
 Harlem River, need of a bridge or boats at, 18.
 Harrison, *Col.* Benjamin, on a committee of Congress to consult about military operations, 4. Mentioned, 27.
 Hart, Josiah, 6, 7.
 Harvard College, action by the Corporation of, with regard to the use of the college buildings as quarters for officers of the Convention troops, 178. Letter from William Heath to the Corporation of, 181. Letter from the Faculty of, to the Council of Massachusetts, 182. College buildings wanted for quarters for the British officers, 177, 179, 182, 183, 186.
 Hay, *Col.* Udry, letters from, to William Heath, 331, 333. Mentioned, 28.
 Heywood, *Lieut. B.*, 307.
 Hazard, *brig*, 311, 323.
 Hazard, Ebenezer, notice of, 63 *n.* Letter from, to William Heath, 63.
 Hazen, *Col.* Moses, 212.
 Heath, *Major-General* William, letters from, to John Adams, 11; Samuel Adams, 143, 147, 154; Board of War, 88; James Bowdoin, 51; Samuel Brewer, 131; John Burgoyne, 196, 200, 206, 218; Thomas Chase, 169, 175, 186; Ezekiel Cheever, 143; George Clinton, 58; President of Congress, 167, 171; Comte d'Estaing, 268; Horatio Gates, 154, 289, 293, 297; Jacob Gerrish, 283; John Glover, 118, 160; Nathanael Greene, 314; William Greene, 252; John Hancock, 81, 311; the Corporation of Harvard College, 181; Israel Keith, 317; Henry Laurens, 180, 210, 218, 240; William R. Lee, 176; James Livingston, 58; Council of Massachusetts, 66, 84, 87, 117, 128, 176, 178, 191, 267, 276, 279; Joshua Mersereau, 242; Charles Miller, 169; John Nixon, 141, 153, 314; John Paterson, 330, 341; Robert Pigot, 231; Jeremiah Powell, 316; William Prescott, 5; Arthur St. Clair, 120; Joseph Spencer, 79; John Sullivan, 244; the Treasury Board, 227, 236,

237; Jonathan Trumbull, 92, 172, 285, 287; Pierre van Cortlandt, 35; George Washington, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27, 33, 36, 38, 42, 43, 47, 54, 56, 61, 64, 69, 71, 80, 82, 94, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 112, 123, 126, 128, 129, 132, 136, 152, 158, 163, 166, 184, 188, 189, 199, 206, 207, 216, 220, 228, 234, 248, 271, 273, 275, 277, 280, 281, 282, 288, 290, 291, 296, 298, 302, 329, 334, 336, 338; Meshech Weare, 144. Letters to, from John Adams, 3, 9, 14; Samuel Adams, 6, 140; William Agnew, 224; John Avery, Jr., 326; Samuel Barrett, 259; Samuel Brewer, 116; John Burgoyne, 186, 197, 222; Archibald Campbell, 74, 78, 96, 234; Peter Colt, 213; Thomas Crafts, 252, 256, 264; Francis Dana, 190; Comte d'Estaing, 269; Horatio Gates, 286, 299; John Glover, 156, 162, 172; John Gooch, 238, 240; Nathanael Greene, 313; William Greene, 250; Ebenezer Hazard, 63; David Henley, 201; Jedidiah Huntington, 26; Charles Inglis, 39; Robert Kingston, 208; John Langdon, 92, 131; Henry Laurens, 194, 202, 209, 215; Charles Lee, 26; Seth Loring, 308; Daniel Lyman, 245, 246, 249, 251, 254, 255, 256, 258, 266; Alexander McDougall, 106, 329; Assembly of Massachusetts, 173; John Nixon, 137, 144, 161; Richard Peters, 170; Joseph Reed, 20; Paul Revere, 318; Arthur St. Clair, 121; Philip Schuyler, 113, 115, 135; John Morin Scott, 29; Gold Selleck Silliman, 60; Joseph Spencer, 76; John Sullivan, 230, 247, 272; Jonathan Trumbull, 175, 277; Pierre van Cortlandt, 32; James Warren, 223; George Washington, 192; Meshech Weare, 150. Remarks by, on promotions in the American army, 12, 13. Objections by, to the evacuation of the city of New York, 22-24. Desires to go to New England to raise more troops, 49. Desires to visit New England, 65, 329. In command of the Eastern Department, 66*n*. On the need of a permanent army, and a change in the manner of carrying on the war, 221. Restricts Gen. Phillips to his quarters, 281, 283. Relieved of his command at Boston, 292, 296. Appointed to the command of the Left Division of the Army, 303. Mentioned, 52, 182, 204, 205, 264.

Heister, Daniel, 235, 236.

Henley, Col. David, notice of, 201*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 201. Mentioned, 72, 124, 158, 160, 164, 213.

Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, 145.

Hesse-Hanau, regiment of, 284.

Hessians, sent to King's Bridge, 47, 48. Captured at Trenton, 52. Mentioned, 64, 103, 105, 107, 161.

Hewitt, *Lieut.* —, 116.

Highlands, passes in the, importance of securing the, 32, 53, 58, 65, 120.

Hill, *Capt.* John, 301.

Hoakesly, Robert, 295.

Holden, *Col.* —, 246.

Holker, John, 291, 296.

Holmes, *Capt.* Alexander, 311.

Hopkins, *Capt.* —, 230.

Hotham, *Commodore* William, 38.

Howe, Richard, *Earl*, 167, 168, 199, 211, 212, 215, 217, 262.

Howe, Gen. Robert, 315, 335.

Howe, Gen. Sir William, supposed plan for operations at Boston, 7. Letter to, from John Burgoyne, 204. Mentioned, 8, 17, 21, 45, 48, 53, 55, 65, 75, 107, 119, 123, 136, 154, 192, 197, 203, 206, 207, 208, 217, 242.

Hudson River, obstruction of the, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37. Supposed plan of the British for a junction on, 119.

Hull, *Major* William, 336.

Hunnewell, William, *Charlestown*, 174.

Huntington, *Major* Ebenezer, 39, 62, 63.

Huntington, Gen. Jedidiah, letter from, to William Heath, 26. Mentioned, 28, 29, 38, 42, 307.

Hurd, *Col.* John, 103.

Hutchens, *Capt.* Nathaniel, 235.

Hutchinson, *Col.* Israel, 21.

I.

Indians, barbarities of the, 141. A danger to the frontiers, 301.

Inglis, Rev. Charles, *D.D.*, notice of, 39*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 39. Mentioned, 43, 55.

Iman, Ralph, his house taken for a hospital, 173. Mentioned, 174.

Invalids, corps of, 165, 170.

J.

Jackson, *Col.* Henry, 70, 72, 101, 124, 125, 158, 159, 160, 164, 184.

Jackson, *Col.* Michael, 148.

Jackson, *Lieut.* Simon, 59.

Jarvis, Leonard, 73, 184.

Johonnot, *Col.* Gabriel, 71.

Johnson, *Capt.* James, 311.

Johnson, *Sir* John, 145.

Jones, *Ensign* Winsor, 236.

K.

Keith, *Major* Israel, letter from, to Archibald Campbell, 78. Letter to, from William Heath, 317. Mentioned, 181, 206, 209.

Kennebec River, scouts to be sent from, to the Chaudiere River, 212. Mentioned, 324.
 Keppel, *Admiral* Augustus, 275.
 King's Bridge, importance of the post at, 17, 20. Mentioned, 47, 48, 64, 65.
 King's Ferry, 28, 65, 340.
 Kingston, *Col.* Robert, notice of, 198 *n.* Letters from, to William Harcourt, 198; to William Heath, 208. Letter to, from Seth Loring, 209. Mentioned, 207.
 Knox, *Gen.* Henry, 73, 93, 95, 99.
 Knyphausen, Dodo Henry, *Baron*, 65, 107.

L.

Lady Washington, *galley*, 28.
 Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, *Marquis de*, letter from, to William Heath, 261. Mentioned, 246, 253, 266.
 Laha, *Capt.* Samuel, 311.
 Lake Champlain, 68.
 Lancaster, *Mass.*, 90.
 Lancaster, *Penn.*, prisoners of war to be sent to, 300.
 Lane, *Capt.* —, 138.
 Langdon, *Gov.* John, notice of, 92 *n.* Letter to, from Jonathan Trumbull, 85. Letters from, to William Heath, 92, 131. Mentioned, 73, 82, 83, 86, 92, 93, 94, 151.
 Langdon, *Rev.* Samuel, *D.D.*, 103.
 Languedoc, *French ship of the line*, 263.
 Laurens, *Hon.* Henry, letters to, from William Heath, 180, 210, 218, 240. Letters from, to William Heath, 194, 202, 209, 215. Mentioned, 297.
 Laurens, *Col.* John, 246.
 Learned, *Gen.* Ebenezer, 116, 139, 146, 220.
 Lechmere, —, 199.
 Lee, Arthur, 109.
 Lee, *Gen.* Charles, notice of, 26 *n.* Letter from, to William Heath, 26. Mentioned, 31, 34, 36, 37, 45, 46, 90, 97, 131.
 Lee, *Major* Henry, 314.
 Lee, *Col.* William R., notice of, 176 *n.* Letter to, from William Heath, 176. Mentioned, 72, 100, 104, 124, 125, 130, 158, 159, 160, 164, 184, 220, 227, 249, 271.
 Lee, *Capt.* —, 130.
 Lexington, *Mass.*, 191.
 Lillie, *Capt.* John, 99.
 Lincoln, *Gen.* Benjamin, 25, 45, 50, 56, 58, 59, 157, 158, 160, 163.
 Liquors for the officers of Burgoyne's army, 178, 179, 293, 294.
 Little, *Col.* Moses, 46.
 Livingston, Abraham, 70, 124.
 Livingston, *Col.* Henry B., 245.
 Livingston, *Col.* James, letter to, from William Heath, 58.
 Livingston, Philip, 10.
 Livingston, Philip J., 41.

Long Island, American army on, 18. Evacuated by the Americans, 20.
 Loring, Seth, notice of, 209 *n.* Letters from, to Robert Kingston, 209; to William Heath, 308. Death of, 318.
 Lovell, *Gen.* Solomon, 246, 253, 308, 310, 311, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 326.
 Lyman, Daniel, notice of, 245 *n.* Letters from, to William Heath, 245, 246, 249, 251, 254, 255, 256, 258, 266. Mentioned, 244, 259, 290, 328.
 Lynch, *Hon.* Thomas, Jr., on a committee of Congress to consult about military operations, 4.

M.

McCloskey, —, *express messenger*, 189.
 McClure, *Lieut.* —, 69.
 McCoy, *Capt.* —, 68.
 McDougall, *Gen.* Alexander, notice of, 106 *n.* Letters from, to William Heath, 106, 329. Mentioned, 10, 107, 110, 235, 330, 333, 338.
 McKnight, *Dr.* Charles, 35, 36.
 McNeil, *Capt.* Hector, 127.
 Magabigwaduce, 308, 320.
 Malcolm, *Col.* William, 57.
 Malden, *Mass.*, beacon at, 276.
 Manly, *Capt.* John, 108, 127, 184.
 Marblehead, *Mass.*, 161.
 Marlborough, *American privateer*, 268, 270.
 Marmadale, *M.* (*François L. de Malmedy*), 70.
 Marseillais, *French ship of the line*, 263.
 Marshall, *Col.* Thomas, 70, 72, 132, 148, 149.
 Marshall, *Capt.* —, 149.
 Marston, *Lieut.* John, 324.
 Martha's Vineyard, 273.
 Mason, *Lt.-Col.* David, 110, 111.
 Massachusetts, Assembly of, letter from the, to William Heath, 173.
 Massachusetts, Convention in, to frame a State Constitution, 317.
 Massachusetts, Council of the State of, letters to the, from William Heath, 66, 84, 87, 117, 128, 176, 178, 191, 267, 276, 279; from Anthony Wayne, 68; from Archibald Campbell, 90; from the Faculty of Harvard College, 182.
 Massachusetts Hall, wanted for the accommodation of the officers of Burgoyne's army, 182, 186.
 Massachusetts regiments, said to include men and boys unsuitable for military service, 3. Character of the officers appointed to, 4. Recruits from, 62. Should be sent forward as soon as ready, 66. Troops sent to the army, 89. Well armed, 149. Character of the officers and soldiers, 316.
 Massey, *Gen.* Eyre, 235, 236.
 Masters, *Capt.* Richard, 280, 281.
 Measum, *Major* —, 303.

Medford, *Mass.*, proposed as convenient for quarters for the German generals, 172.
 Mersereau, Joshua, letters to, from William Heath, 242; from John Beatty, 300.
 Millin, *Gen.* Thomas, 5, 19, 28.
 Millin, *Col.* —, 227.
 Miller, Charles, letter to, from William Heath, 169. Mentioned, 88, 108, 185, 214, 225.
 Mohawk River, incursion on the, 114, 141, 145. Mentioned, 150, 153, 154.
 Money, want of, 60, 216, 218, 219, 229.
 Montgomery, *Gen.* Richard, 134.
 Montresor's Island, *N. Y.*, 65.
 Moore, John, 41, 43.
 Morgan, *Col.* Daniel, 147, 305.
 Morris, *Judge* Richard, 21.
 Morrisania, *N. Y.*, 65.
 Morrison, *Major* John, 231, 294.
 Moses Creek, 139.
 Mount Hope, 116.
 Mount Independence, 121, 122, 126.
 Mount Washington, battery on, 16, 17, 18, 19.
 Moylan, *Col.* Stephen, 230.
 Mullen, *Capt.* Robert, 301.
 Mullender's Hill, Little Britain, *N. Y.*, 331.

N.

Napier, Francis, *Lord*, 213, 220.
 Negroes said to be enlisted in Massachusetts regiments, 3. Their enlistment not approved of by *Gen.* Schuyler, 136, nor by *Gen.* Heath, 148.
 Nevers, *Capt.* —, 240.
 Newburyport, *Mass.*, 171.
 New England troops, *Gen.* Schuyler's description of the, 140.
 New Hampshire troops well armed, 149, 151.
 New Jersey, landing of the British in, 26, 31. British in, 54, 107, 108.
 New York, City of, objections to the evacuation of, 22-24. British in, 53, 337, 339, 341.
 New York, importance that it should go hand in hand with the other Colonies, 9, 10. Authorizes the erection of sheds for the army, 17. Gives a gratuity to Scott's brigade, 30. Will obstruct Hudson River, 32. Number of fighting men in, 53.
 Nicholas, *Major* Samuel, 164.
 Nicola, *Col.* Lewis, 171.
 Nixon, *Gen.* John, notice of, 137 *n.* Letters from, to William Heath, 137, 144, 161. Letters to, from William Heath, 141, 153, 314. Mentioned, 25, 69, 72, 100, 307, 315.
 Nixon, *Gen.* John, and others, address from, to *Gen.* Heath on his return to camp, 303.

Nixon, *Col.* Thomas, 69, 72, 112, 119, 138, 305.
 North, *Capt.* —, 337, 338.
 Noyes, *Col.* Joseph, 254.
 Noyes, *Capt.* —, 246.

O.

Oliver, *Lt.-Gov.* Thomas, 175.
 Orange Town, *N. Y.*, inhabitants of, harassed by the Tories, 42.

P.

Palfrey, *Col.* William, 55, 63.
 Palmer, *Capt.* John, 311.
 Parker, *Admiral Sir* Peter, 38.
 Parks, *Capt.* Warham, 25.
 Parsons, *Gen.* Samuel II., 38, 42, 55, 57, 94, 107, 307.
 Paterson, *Gen.* John, notice of, 330 *n.* Letters to, from William Heath, 330, 341. Mentioned, 25, 37, 193.
 Pawling, *Col.* Levi, 334.
 Pay of officers in the army, 77, 80.
 Peekskill, *N. Y.*, 38, 39, 42, 70, 102, 104, 110, 111, 114, 115, 119, 121, 124, 125, 137.
 Penobscot Expedition, preparations for the, 308, 309. List of vessels employed in the, 310, 311. Failure of the, 317. Paul Revere's narrative of the, 318-326.
 Percy, Hugh, *Earl*, 65.
 Perry, John, 134.
 Peters, *Capt.* Andrew, 25.
 Peters, Richard, letter from, to William Heath, 170.
 Phenix, *man-of-war*, 16.
 Philadelphia, importance of, 48, 108, 119, 123, 136.
 Phillabrown, —, *Charlestown*, 174.
 Phillips, *Gen.* William, 172, 175, 216, 226, 241, 242, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 290, 294. Restricted to his own quarters, 241.
 Pigot, *Gen.* Robert, notice of, 231 *n.* Letter to, from William Heath, 231. Mentioned, 242, 293, 294.
 Piper, Benjamin, *innkeeper*, 174.
 Pléville le Peley, Georges René, 263.
 Pollard, *Col.* Jonathan, 241.
 Pollepel's Island, 32.
 Pomeroy, *Gen.* Seth, 50.
 Poor, *Col.* Enoch, 37, 151.
 Porter, *Col.* Elisha, 36, 42.
 Portsmouth, *N. H.*, 81, 86, 94, 132, 189, 235, 249, 263. Not a safe place for military stores, 88, 101.
 Powder, bad quality of that made in Massachusetts, 73. Sent to Rhode Island, 250, 252.
 Powell, *Hon.* Jeremiah, letters to, from Timothy Danielson, 95; from William Heath, 316.

Prentice, *Mrs. Jonas, Charlestown*, 174.
 Prescott, *Gen. Robert*, capture of, 127, 131.
 Prescott, *Col. William*, notice of, 5*n*. Letter to, from William Heath, 5. Mentioned, 25, 61.
 Prices, exorbitant, of goods sold at auction, 136, 137.
 Prisoners of war, exchange of, 74, 91, 301. Stroll about the country, 243.
 Prizes taken, 37, 50, 103, 105, 108, 130, 159, 161, 299.
 Promotions in the army, 12, 15.
 Prospect Hill, *Somerville, Mass.*, 166, 167, 169, 180, 185, 240.
 Providence, *R. I.*, state of the army at, 129. Mentioned, 133, 166, 274.
 Provisions, agreement as to the prices to be paid for, in the army, 305.
 Pullen, *Major* —, 39.
 Putnam, *Gen. Israel*, letter to, from Philip Schuyler, 111. Mentioned, 107, 112, 136, 159, 185.
 Putnam, *Gen. Rufus*, 21, 69, 72, 73, 98, 100, 101, 102, 112, 119, 128, 305, 307, 340.

Q.

Quaker Hill, *R. I.*, 250.
 Quebec, 134, 213.
 Queen of France, *frigate*, 299.
 Queen's American Rangers, bounty for enlisting in, 51.

R.

Rand, *Mrs.* —, *Charlestown*, 174.
 Ranger, *frigate*, 299.
 Read, *Col. Seth*, 25, 37, 46.
 Reed, *Gen. Joseph*, notice of, 20*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 20. Mentioned, 26.
 Reading, *Mass.*, 74, 75, 78, 90, 91.
 Recruiting service, 29, 37, 49, 60, 61, 72, 87, 155.
 Rensselaer, *Major* —, 115.
 Revere, *Col. Paul*, notice of, 318*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 318. Mentioned, 308.
 Reyman, *Capt.* —, 69.
 Rhetz, regiment of, 284.
 Rhode Island, British in, 70, 76, 78, 129, 133, 231, 244. Military operations in, 245–266. As a base for an attack on Boston, 274.
 Riedesel, Frederick Adolph, *Baron von*, 172, 175, 277, 284.
 Rogers, *Col. Robert*, notice of, 50*n*. Recruiting certificate of, 50. Mentioned, 52, 53, 56, 57, 62.
 Romulus, *man-of-war*, 337.
 Rose, *frigate*, 16.
 Ross, *Capt. Alexander*, 311.
 Ross, —, 265.

Ruggles, *Major* —, 172, 175.
 Ruggles, —, 240.
 Rutland, *Mass.*, 228, 244, 279, 283, 284, 285, 288.

S.

St. Clair, *Gen. Arthur*, letter to, from William Heath, 120. Letter from, to William Heath, 121. Mentioned, 111, 113, 137, 139.
 St. John's River, secret expedition to, 130, 159.
 Salem, *Mass.*, 103, 171, 217.
 Salt, want of, 114, 189. At Sherburne, 100.
 Salter, *Capt. Titus*, 310.
 Saltonstall, *Commodore Dudley*, 308, 310, 318, 320, 321.
 Sawyer, *Major* —, 322.
 Scammel, *Col. Alexander*, 132.
 Schuyler, *Gen. Philip*, letters from, to Israel Putnam, 111; to William Heath, 113, 115, 135. His description of the New England troops, 140. Mentioned, 6, 52, 110, 111, 112, 124, 125, 126, 139, 147, 149, 150.
 Scott, *Gen. John Morin*, notice of, 29*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 29. Mentioned, 28, 35, 63.
 Sewall, *Capt.* —, 227, 249.
 Sewall's Farm, destruction of timber and wood at, 5.
 Sewall's Point, 166, 167.
 Sharon, *N. Y.*, 332.
 Sheldon, *Col. Elisha*, 45.
 Shepard, *Col. William*, 69, 72, 328.
 Sherburne, *Mass.*, salt at, 100.
 Sherman, *Col. Isaac*, 307.
 Silliman, *Gen. Gold Selleck*, letter from, to William Heath, 60.
 Silliman, William, 60.
 Six Nations of Indians, conference with, 115.
 Small pox, troops inoculated against the, 89, 100, 192, 228.
 Smedes, *Lt. Abraham*, 25.
 Smith, *Rev. Hezekiah*, 305.
 Smith, William, 10.
 Smith, *Col. William*, 303.
 Smith, *Lt.-Col.* —, 192.
 Snyder, *Col. Johannis*, 34.
 South Carolina, expedition to, 329.
 Spain, arrival of supplies from, 154.
 Sparhawk, *Col. Nathan*, 54.
 Specht, *Brig.-Gen. Johann Friedrich*, 284.
 Spencer, *Gen. Joseph*, letter from, to William Heath, 76. Letter to, from William Heath, 79. Mentioned, 37, 52, 109.
 Springfield, *Mass.*, laboratory and magazines at, 73, 81, 83, 89, 93, 94, 96, 99, 100, 103, 106, 112, 125, 135, 152, 249, 284.
 Sprout, *Lt.-Col. Ebenezer*, 100.

Stamford, *Conn.*, 312.
 Stark, *Gen.* John, 37, 144, 145, 150.
 Starr, *Col.* Joseph, 307.
 Staten Island, 22.
 Steuben, Frederick W. A. H., *Baron von*, 203, 212.
 Stillwater, battle of, 156, 162, 163.
 Stirling, William Alexander, *Gen. Lord*, 21, 31, 287.
 Stony Point, 312, 328, 334.
 Storer, —, 194.
 Stoughton, *Mass.*, beacon at, 276.
 Strang, Daniel, 50, 57.
 Sudbury, *Mass.*, 170.
 Sullivan, *Capt.* Ebenezer, 105.
 Sullivan, *Gen.* John, letters from, to William Heath, 230, 247, 272. Letter to, from William Heath, 244. Mentioned, 10, 12, 13, 21, 46, 105, 245, 250, 251, 258, 259, 260, 266, 274.
 Sumner, *Capt.* —, 110.
 Susquehanna Settlements, attack on the, 243.
 Sutherland, *Lt.-Col.* Nicholas, 219.
 Swan, Samuel, 174.
 Swasey, *Major* Joseph, 222, 249.
 Swift, *Col.* Heman, 307.

T.

Tappan, *N. Y.*, 27, 28, 29, 31, 43.
 Tashe, *Col.* Thomas, 34.
 Temple, Robert, his house wanted for the use of Gen. Burgoyne, 173.
 Tenpenny, *Major* —, 44.
 Thomas, *Capt.* Thomas, 311.
 Thomas, *Lieut.* —, 157.
 Thomas, *Col.* —, 56.
 Thompson, *Capt.* —, 25.
 Thunder Hill, on the Hudson, 120.
 Ticonderoga, Fort, 53, 68, 70, 72, 83, 84, 87, 89, 95, 96, 113, 115, 119, 121, 125, 133, 135, 137, 138, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 158. Evacuation of, by the Americans, 122, 126, 131, 135, 139, 140, 143, 144.
 Titcomb, *Col.* Jonathan, 246, 253.
 Tiverton, *R. I.*, 247.
 Todd, *Capt.* William, 324.
 Topham, *Col.* John, 248.
 Tories, in New York, 9, 26, 27, 31, 42, 52, 65.
 Tammany Hill (*Tonomy*), *R. I.*, 253, 257.
 Tracy, *Capt.* —, 100.
 Treasury Board, letter to the, from William Heath, 227, 236, 237.
 Trenton, battle of, 51, 54.
 Trumbull, *Gov.* Jonathan, letters from, to John Langdon, 85; to William Heath, 175, 277. Letters to, from William Heath, 92, 172, 285, 287. Mentioned, 92, 94, 95, 279, 285, 288.
 Trumbull, *Col.* Joseph, 180, 185, 189.
 Truro, *Mass.*, 125.

Tryon, *Gen.* William, 85.
 Tuckerman, *Capt.* —, 244.
 Tupper, *Col.* Benjamin, 28.
 Tyler, *Gen.* John, 27, 28, 29, 31, 38, 42, 251.
 Tyler, *Col.* —, 243.

V.

Vallancey, *Lt.* George, 199, 205, 207, 282, 283.
 Van Cortlandt, *Hon.* Pierre, letter from, to William Heath, 32. Letter to, from William Heath, 35.
 Varnum, *Gen.* James M., 245, 246, 253.
 Verplank's Point, 328.
 Vose, *Major* Elijah, 83.
 Vose, *Lt.-Col.* Joseph, 36, 42, 45, 83.

W.

Wadsworth, *Gen.* James, 45, 55, 60.
 Wadsworth, *Gen.* Peleg, 320, 324.
 Ward, *Gen.* Artemas, 73.
 Ward, Henry, 127.
 Ward, *Col.* Joseph, 19.
 Warner, *Gen.* Seth, 45, 50, 122, 284, 285.
 Warren, James, letter from, to William Heath, 223. Mentioned, 109.
 Warren, *Dr.* John, 173.
 Warren, *frigate*, 299, 308, 310.
 Washington, *Gen.* George, letters to, from William Heath, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27, 33, 36, 38, 42, 43, 47, 54, 56, 61, 64, 69, 71, 80, 82, 94, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 112, 123, 126, 128, 129, 132, 136, 152, 158, 163, 166, 184, 188, 189, 199, 206, 207, 216, 220, 228, 234, 248, 271, 273, 275, 277, 280, 281, 282, 288, 290, 291, 296, 298, 302, 320, 334, 336, 338; from the Convention of New York, 52. Letter from, to William Heath, 192. Mentioned, 5, 31, 32, 35, 51, 58, 60, 75, 86, 93, 111, 114, 142, 148, 155, 160, 179, 200, 202, 203, 214, 243, 254, 264, 265, 277, 279, 287, 341.
 Waterbury, *Conn.*, 278, 288.
 Watertown, *Mass.*, 106, 191, 232, 287.
 Waters, *Capt.* Daniel, 311.
 Wayne, *Gen.* Anthony, notice of, 68 n. Letter from, to the Council of Massachusetts, 68. Mentioned, 83, 243.
 Weare, *Hon.* Meshech, letter to, from William Heath, 144. Letter from, to William Heath, 150. Mentioned, 151.
 Weir, —, *an express messenger*, 202.
 Wesson, *Col.* James, 70, 83, 126, 132, 148, 150.
 West, *Capt.* Nathaniel, 311.
 West, *Col.* —, 246, 253.
 Weston, *Mass.*, beacon at, 276.
 Wigglesworth, *Col.* Edward, 69, 72.
 Willett, *Lt.-Col.* Marinus, 145.

- Williams, *Capt.* John Foster, 311.
 Williams, *Col.* William, notice of, 142 *n.*
 Letter from, to Ezekiel Cheever, 142.
 Willoe, *Capt.* Samuel, 200, 236.
 Winship, *Ensign* —, 217.
 Winter Hill, Somerville, *Mass.*, 166, 167,
 169, 173, 180, 185.
 Wood, price of, in Boston, in 1777, 167,
 168.
 Wood Creek, to be filled up, 137. Men-
 tioned, 146.
- Woodward, Elijah, a *deserter*, to be shot,
 153.
 Wooster, *Gen.* David, 52. Mortally
 wounded, 85.
 Worcester, *Mass.*, magazine at, 89, 170.
 Wyllys, *Col.* Samuel, 307.

Z.

Zabriskie, —, shot by the Tories, 27.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

OCT 22 1946	
14 Jul 65 VB	
REC'D CIRC DEPT	
REC'D LD	AUG 7 '74
JUL 29 '65 - 1 PM	
NOV 3 1965 87	
DEC 3 '65	
REC'D	
NOV 22 '65 - 10 AM	
LOAN DEPT	
REC. CIR. JUN 21 '78	
	LD 21-100m-7,'40 (6936s)

438777

F61

M3

ser. 7

v. 4

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

